

THE USE OF THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

IN THE

RIMADO DE PALACIO

BY

ALBERT F. KUERSTEINER

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

1904

REVUE HISPANIQUE

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MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS

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MEINER MUTTER



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INTRODUCTION¹

§ I. TREATMENT OF THE SPANISH RELATIVE PRONOUN PREVIOUS TO THE PRESENT MONOGRAPH.

Besides the general treatises on Romance syntax by Diez and Meyer-Lübke, the following works must be taken into consideration, in studying the Spanish relative pronoun.

Of the Spanish grammars, Bello's with Cuervo's notes is the best. Wiggers's and Foerster's¹ grammars are also to be consulted. But most important of all is Cuervo's Dictionary, in the second volume of which are contained the articles on *cual*, *cuando*, *cuanto*, *cuyo*, *do*, and *donde*.

It must be remembered, however, that Cuervo's Dictionary takes up chiefly the period between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the present day. The only writer who has studied the Spanish relative pronoun for all periods of the language is Emil Gessner, whose article on the Spanish relative pronoun appeared in 1894. This piece of work is a « Bahnbrecher » and deserves the thanks of all workers in Spanish syntax. In it the *Rimado* is scarcely touched, only five examples being taken from it².

1. Foerster, Paul, *Spanische Sprachlehre*. Berlin, 1880.

2. These are : 747 bc (p. 452); 1545 cd (p. 469); 1513 ab and 136ab (p. 477) 464a (p. 488).

When we come to the period of Middle Spanish in particular, there are two studies which must be mentioned : the one is by Gräfenberg, who comments on the language of Juan Manuel's *Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero* and devotes about two pages to the relative pronoun; the other is by Dönne, who makes « syntactical remarks » on all the works of Juan Manuel, and in this study, somewhat over a page is given to the relative pronoun.

§ 2. THE AIM OF THE PRESENT STUDY.

The present writer intends to make a minute study of the relative pronoun in the *Rimado de Palacio*. He has copied the manuscripts of this monument and hopes soon to publish an edition of it. It will be seen from the following pages that he has made use of the manuscripts, chiefly to establish readings; sometimes to make passages clearer, but without any attempt to determine the text; and once, where the two manuscripts differed repeatedly concerning the use of certain relative pronouns, to examine how this difference could be explained¹.

I subjoin such information as is necessary for an understanding of this study.

§ 3. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE RIMADO.

The author of the *Rimado* is Pero López de Ayala, who was born in 1332 and died in 1407. He was one of the most remarkable men in the medieval history of Spain, and not the least remarkable thing about him is, that in the midst of a career of the greatest political and military activity, he found so much time to devote to the pursuit of literature. The poem entitled *Rimado de Palacio* is the most important of his purely literary efforts.

1. Cf. chapter headed EL QUE and AQUEL QUE (§ 17).

It is unnecessary to go into details concerning the various literary questions which have been raised about this poem, since such a discussion would not be germane to the scope of the present study. Suffice it to state that the *Rimado* was written at various intervals, between 1378 and 1403, as was shown by Amador de los Ríos¹.

§ 4. VERSIFICATION.

Concerning the meter a single remark is enough. Of the stanzas written in the *cuaderna via* verse, some have lines of twelve syllables and others lines of fourteen syllables. Baist restricts this observation to the first 868 stanzas², but I am not ready to assent to his statement. Hence some lines of fourteen syllables taken from other stanzas will be found in the present monograph.

§ 5. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Rimado*.

Two manuscripts are known. One of them is at the National Library in Madrid, formerly marked M 330. This mark was changed, in 1903, to Ms. 4055. I call this manuscript N. The other is at the Escorial Library, marked iij.h. 19. It is noted here as E. Both manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century³. They differ not only in the text of the stanzas that are common to both, but also in the order and number of stanzas. Many stanzas appear in only one manuscript.

As I have not yet determined the correct order of the stanzas

1. *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, vol. V, pp. 130-133 inclusive, foot-note.

2. *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, vol. II, part. 2, p. 422.

3. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. IV, p. xxiii.

(which is not essential to the present study), I have adopted as the basis of my numbering, the numbers given in Janer's edition, which is founded on a copy of N'. Up to stanza 1134, the order of stanzas in the two manuscripts is substantially the same except for omissions. The E-stanzas which are not in N are marked with the number of the N-stanza (i. e. the number in Janer's edition) which they follow, and a small letter above the line indicates the order of such stanzas. Thus 681^a, 681^b, etc., indicates that these stanzas come between stanzas 681 and 682 of N, and the letters above the line indicate the order in which they occur.

After stanza 1134, the two manuscripts show wide divergence. Stanzas 1134 to 1226 inclusive are entirely wanting in E. Beginning with stanza 1227, the order of stanzas in the two manuscripts becomes so widely divergent, that in order to keep track of those E-stanzas which are contained also in N, I indicate the order of the E-stanzas by 1^x, 2^x, 3^x, etc.. x being used to denote the fact that I do not yet know the true order of these stanzas. There are 270 of these stanzas common to E and N. Beginning with stanza 271^x, we find stanzas which are in E and not in N. There are 454 of these stanzas peculiar to E — 271^x to 724^x inclusive — and they come at the end of the manuscript.

From the statement just made, it follows that all the N stanzas are contained in Janer's text, and for these I have retained Janer's numbers. All stanzas peculiar to E are marked with a small letter above the line. Especial attention must be called to the stanzas marked 271^x—724^x : they are the last stanzas in E, and do *not* follow stanza 271 of N.

In the following table a number after a dash has the word *inclusive* understood with it.

1. Cf. § 7.

Table of stanzas peculiar to each manuscript.

1. Abbreviations : B.-C. — Bello, A., Cuervo, R. J., *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, sexta edición. Paris, 1898.

Bello, *Poema del Cid*. — Bello, A., *Apuntes sobre el estado de la lengua castellana en el siglo XIII*. (Appendix to his study of the *Poema del Cid*, vol. II, of his *Obras completas*. Santiago de Chile, 1881).

Cuervo, *Dicc.* — Cuervo, R. J., *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*. Paris, t. I, 1886; t. II, 1893.

Dönne. — Dönne, F., *Syntaktische Bemerkungen zu Don Juan Manuels Schrift* (*Jahresbericht der Pfeiffer'schen Lehr und Erziehungs-Anstalt*). Jena, 1891.

E. — Escorial manuscript (cf. § 5).

Gessner. — Gessner, Emil, *Das spanische Relativ- und Interrogativ- pronomen* (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XVIII, pp. 448-497).

G. L. R. — Meyer-Lübke, W., *Grammaire des langues romanes*, t. III, *Syntaxe*. Paris, 1900.

Gräfenberg. — Gräfenberg, S., *Don Juan Manuel, El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen nach der Handschrift neu herausgegeben* (*Romanische Forschungen*, VII, pp. 427-550).

Marden. — Marden, C. Carroll, *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, texto critico con Introducción, Notas y Glosario*. Baltimore, 1904.

Mätzner, *Syntax*. — Mätzner, Eduard, *Syntax der neufranzösischen Sprache*. Berlin, 1843.

Men. Pidal. — Menéndez Pidal, R., *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, Madrid, 1908.

N. — Manuscript of the National Library in Madrid (cf. § 5).

P. — Fragment contained in the manuscript of the National Library in Paris (cf. § 5).

Ramsey. — Ramsey, M. Montrose, *A Spanish Grammar*. New-York, 1902.

Rom. Gram. — Diez, Friedrich, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*. Dritter Theil. Dritte, neue bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Bonn, 1872.

Salvá, *Dicc.* — Salvá, Vicente, *Nuevo Diccionario de la lengua castellana* undécima edición. Paris, 1894.

Salvá, *Gram.* — Salvá, Vicente, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, décima edición. Paris, 1883.

Tobler. — Tobler, Adolf, *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik*. Erste Reihe. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig, 1902. — Zweite Reihe. Leipzig, 1894 (Tobler, I² and Tobler, II).

Wiggers. — Wiggers, Julius, *Grammatik der Spanischen Sprache*. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1884.

Works for which no abbreviation is given, will be referred to by their full title.

a. Stanzas contained in N and not in E.

1-11, 263-274, 346, 516-527, 683-692, 802, 834-835, 855-861, 1118-1129, 1134-1226, 1287, 1351-1354, 1367-1368, 1504-1609.

b. Stanzas contained in E and not in N.

58^a, 551^a-561¹, 681^a-681¹, 824^a, 839^a, 271^x-724^x.

Of the stanzas mentioned in section b of this table, those marked 271^x-724^x have never been published, and the others are not readily accessible¹. Hence I have been careful, whenever important or peculiar phenomena are concerned, to quote from them at length.

Besides the manuscripts N and E, there is, in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, marked Esp. 216, a fragment of our poem that covers stanzas 794-806 inclusive. This manuscript, which I call P, is given by Morel-Fatio as of the fifteenth century². P also has been utilized in this study.

§ 6. THE ACADEMY COPY.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Academy had a copy of the *Rimado*, made from the manuscript which is now in the National Library at Madrid (i. e. N) and which was then in the library of the Conde de Campo Alange³. It is on this copy that Janer based his edition⁴. The copy is preserved in the Archives of the Spanish Academy, where I collated it with Janer's text.

§ 7. JANER'S EDITION.

In 1864, Florencio Janer published the first and only edition

1. Knust published the other stanzas referred to in the *Jahrbuch für Romanische u. Englische Literatur*, vol. VIII; pp. 361-384.

2. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Espagnols et des Manuscrits Portugais*, sub Esp. 216.

3. Cf. Amador de los Ríos, V, p. 116, foot-note.

4. See next chapter.

of the *Rimado* in the 57th volume of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, pp. 425-476. In a foot-note on p. 425, Janer states that his text is « enteramente conforme con el código más completo que se conoce. » But in 1867, Knust pointed out that Janer had not consulted any *código* at all, but had used the Academy copy ¹ mentioned in the previous chapter. It will be well to bear this fact in mind, as it will account for those N- readings, in my study, which are different from Janer's text.

§ 8. METHOD AND ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL IN THE PRESENT STUDY.

Each pronoun is taken up by itself. The pronouns studied are *que*, *el que*, *lo que*, *aquel que*, *aquello que*, *cual*, *el cual*, *quien*, *cuanto*; the adverbs *ado*, *adonde*, *do*, *donde*, *onde*, and *cuando*, when used pronominally, and finally, the relative adjective *cuyo*. The general heads under which each pronoun has been studied are the adjective use and the substantive use.

1° With regard to the adjective use of the pronoun a number of questions present themselves.

Is the antecedent a PERSON OR PERSONIFIED OBJECT, a THING, or a CLAUSE? I have used the word « thing » in a wide sense; it includes not only inanimate objects, but also abstract nouns and all other nouns and pronouns which do not denote persons or personified objects. In connection with this question it is important to distinguish, also, whether the relative pronoun is the subject of its clause, or whether it is an accusative, or the object of a proposition, or whether it is used in a loose construction which is generally classified under relative adverb².

Sometimes the antecedent affects the FORM of the relative, as in the case of *cual*, *el cual*, and *el que*, used adjectively³. But

1. Cf. *Jahrbuch f. Romanische u. Englische Literatur*, VIII, pp. 361-365.

2. Cf. § 14, D.

3. Cf. § 18, 1.

the chief influence of the antecedent is apparent in that it may affect the person or number of the verb, or the past participle of the compound tense of a verb. But since such influence is exercised when the pronoun is a subject or an accusative, it will be necessary, in discussing the INFLUENCE OF THE ANTECEDENT, to consider again the case relation of the pronoun, as we did in discussing the NATURE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

Meyer-Lübke points out that « la signification des propositions relatives est infiniment variée ¹ ». It is manifestly impossible to make any exhaustive classification of such clauses, and only where the meaning bears on the use of the relative pronoun, as in the case of explanatory and restrictive clauses, have I attempted regular classification.

Relative clauses are divided into two classes : explanatory and restrictive ; i. e. those clauses which add a statement concerning the antecedent without thereby restricting the number of persons, or things, indicated by the antecedent, and those which do thereby restrict the number or persons, or things, indicated by the antecedent. Some relative clauses can be interpreted as either explanatory or restrictive, and only the context, or the punctuation, can decide to which class they belong. The example quoted by Bello is a good illustration : « Las señoras, que deseaban descansar, se retiraron ². » In this sentence, as it stands, no restriction is placed upon the number of señoras. All of them wished to take a rest, and all of them retired. But if we remove the commas and read : « Las señoras que deseaban descansar se retiraron, » we restrict the number of señoras who retired to those who wished to take a rest.

This division of relative clauses is an important one and bears on the extent to which the various relative pronouns are employed

1. *G. L. R.*, p. 706.

2. *B.-C.*, p. 84.

in Modern Spanish ¹. Here again it is important to keep in mind the case relation of the pronoun, for certain pronouns do not generally appear as subjects of restrictive clauses ², while on the other hand it is particular in restrictive clauses that *que* is so used ³.

Having studied the nature and the influence of the antecedent, and the NATURE OF THE CLAUSE (i. e. the clause in its relation to the antecedent), I next take up the SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE. Here the study of case relations is so clearly called for, that no comment is necessary.

But nearly every pronoun has a peculiarity which does not come under any of the heads just given and yet must be mentioned. Such peculiarity, or peculiarities, are set down in the preliminary remarks of the several pronouns. As an example, see the preliminary remarks under *el cual* ⁴.

2° As for the substantive pronoun, the same lines, as in the case of the adjective pronoun, are followed, except, that in studying the nature of the clause, no subdivisions are made, since all clauses with substantive relatives are restrictive, as will appear from the following considerations.

The antecedent of a substantive relative, for the very reason that it is not expressed, is a vague and a general one. Hence, any statement which is added must necessarily restrict the number of persons, or things, referred to by the antecedent; e. g.

Quien bien así obrare podrá seguro ser (41 c).

The antecedent here is all persons in general, and from this number in general are selected those who do right ⁵.

1. Cf. § 13, A, B, C.

2. Cf. *el cual*, § 46 and adjective *quien*, § 57, A.

3. Cf. § 13, A.

4. § 46.

5. Cf. Tobler, I², p. 117.

§ 9. MECHANICAL DEVICES EMPLOYED IN THE PRESENT MONOGRAPH.

In stanzas common to N and E, the N-reading is always taken as a basis, and this reading is the only one given, if the manuscripts are in substantial accord as far as the relative pronoun and the meaning of the line are concerned. Where N and E both have good readings, and the constructions for the relative pronoun differ, I indicate the fact by using **heavy type** when the N reading is referred to, and *italics* when the E-reading is to be noted.

Whenever it becomes necessary to quote variants, the following plan is adopted. The N-reading is given first; the E-reading is placed immediately below without leads. In the case of the stanzas common to N, E, and P, there are three lines, giving the readings in the order just mentioned.

For notation used in the numbering of the stanzas, see § 5.

Emended readings are put in parentheses, ().

QUE

§ 10. Just as *que* is the commonest of the relative pronouns in Modern Spanish, so also it is the most frequent in the *Rimado*. It may be used either as an adjective pronoun or as substantive pronoun.

QUE AS AN ADJECTIVE PRONOUN

§ 11. THE NATURE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

A. *When que is the subject of its clause.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person, or personified object.

Examples are plentiful : 1 a, 8 b, 9 b, 12 b, etc. There are 268 of them, constituting considerably over one half of all the instances in which *que* is a subject.

b. A thing.

58d, 86b, 1274 c etc. These cases, of which there are 178, constitute less than half of all the instances in which *que* is a subject.

c. The antecedent is a clause.

There are four examples and I quote them in full.

140 b :

Con valor de mis paños a mill pobres vestiera
e grant bien e grant pro de mi alma fiziera.
que grant, etc.

The N-reading demands a pronoun of the first person for the subject of *fiziera*. If the E-reading be adopted the meaning would be : « which thing would have wrought great good and great profit of my soul. » One would expect *d mi alma*, instead of *de mi alma* ; for, with *de* an awkward construction results.

388 c (The poet is addressing the Lord) :

A los vnos atormentas, que te sepan confesar,
commo feziste al ciego ; *que* non fue por el pecar
nin su padre nin su madre, mas tu gloria demostrar.

« Which thing was done not because either his father or mother had sinned, but, etc. »

788 c (*lo* refers to the great schism) :

non lo puse en oluido nin en cuydado vano
oluido *que* seria grant dapño.

The rime (*cristiano, desmano, vano*), makes the N-reading more probable. The E-reading evidently gives a scribal construction.

1416 d (*desto* refers to the advantages of humble confession) :

desto muchos enxienplos avemos toda sazón
para nos aperçebir ; *que* a nos seã liçon.

« let which thing be a lesson to us ».

B. *When que is an accusative.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person, or personified object.

There are 32 instances : 46 c, 60 c, 810 c, etc. They constitute a little more than one ninth of all the clauses in which *que* is accusative.

b. A thing.

54 b, 66 c, 996 b, etc. There are 277 clauses in which *que* is used as an accusative ; and since we have just learned that, in 32 of these, the antecedent is a person or personified object, it is evident that the thing-antecedents of accusative *que* are about eight times as numerous as the personal and personified antecedents. When we remember that persons are much more likely to be active than passive agents, and that the reverse condition holds for things, the explanation of this proportion is not far to seek.

c. There are no cases of clausal antecedent.

C. *When que is the object of a preposition.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person, or personified object.

Gessner states that while in Modern Spanish *que* after a preposition may refer to persons, such reference is rare, since *que* is usually replaced by *quien* or *el cual* ; that in Old Spanish, however, *que* frequently refers to a person, by the side of *qui* and *quien*¹. This statement concerning the early stage of the language is confirmed for the writings of Don Juan Manuel by Dönné's study². In the *Rimado*, conditions have changed ; for, all the instances in which *que* after a preposition has a personal antecedent are doubtful. Four such examples occur and I give them in full below.

1. Gessner, p. 451.

2. Dönné, p. 13.

58^ad (Text : The sin of David):

..... tomó a Vrias.....
vna muger *que* avia estando en el pensando.

The first impulse is to emend by changing *estando* to *estado*. But the difficulty remains that this statement does not accord with the facts as set forth in II Samuel, Chap. eleven. As it seems more probable that we have here an error due to the ignorance of a scribe, rather than to that of Ayala, I propose:

La muger en *que* avia estado el pensando.

Still this is an emended passage, and one which occurs in only one Ms. and hence must be taken with caution.

648 d (The progress of a court favorite is compared to that of a man climbing a ladder during an assault of a city, and the poet is describing the precaution which the favorite should take in choosing his companions):

pensaua luego en al e ponía cuydado
de que gente sería en la escala aguardado,
que con él y subiesen de *que* fuese fiado.
quien

Here E has *quien*, and again there is reasonable doubt.

779 d :

Por mas acrescentar en la oraçion mia
prometi de tener e yr por mi rromeria
e yr en rromeria
por mi a Guadalupe á la virgen Maria
de *que* luego fiziera vn cantar que asy dezia
que luego, etc.

Here, again, we may be in doubt whether the *que* in the N-reading refers to « yr en rromeria, etc. » or whether it refers to « la virgen Maria ».

The E-reading hardly makes good sense and doubtless we must read :

de *que* luego fiziera cantar que asy dezia.

1379 a :

El pueblo de judios por quien nuestro Señor
que
tales miraglos fizo...

Again the difference in the Mss. leaves a doubt, with the probabilities in favor of the N-reading.

There is, then, no authentic case of a relative *que*, after a preposition, having a person for its antecedent,

b. A thing.

10 b:

A el pido merçed, que non quiera catar
las mis grandes maldades en *que* le fuy errar.

124 c:

piensan en otros males, por *que* despues padesçen.

786 b:

falle otra presura con *que* otra padesçe
veo agora

There are 82 examples coming under this head and they constitute about three fourths of all the instances in which *que* is the object of a preposition.

c. A clause.

These instances are numerous in the *Rimado*. Since those with *por* are more numerous than those with all the other prepositions taken together, and since they are of peculiar interest, I devote an especial subdivision to them.

1. With prepositions other than *por*.

There are six examples, which I quote in full.

25 b:

Juro muy amenudo por el tu nonbre, Señor,
e maliçiosa mente, de *que* so pecador ;
e por muy vanas cosas e sin ningunt color.

162 d:

Plogo me otrosi oyr.
libros de deuanços e de mentiras probadas,
Amadis e Lançalote e burlas estancadas ;
en *que* perdí mi tienpo a muy malas jornadas.

313 d:

Asaz veo de perigros en todos nuestros estados ;
de qual quier guisa que sean asaz son ocasionados,
prestos de mal fazer e del bien muy arredrados ;
en *que* pecan los muy sinples e peresçen los letrados.

627 d :

E así tu esperança en Dios solo porrnás :
 aquel es el que acorre, oy luego sinon cras ;
 desto muchas ystorias, si quieres, leerás,
 con *que* el tu coraçon mucho esforçarás,
 qual tu

The *que* here might refer to *ystorias*, but it more probably refers to the idea of reading such *ystorias*. The E-reading *qual* is a scribal error for *quel*, or *que el*.

1067 d :

si quisieres oyr me, seré rrazonador
 de todo lo que vi ; de aquí aurás pauor.
 que

The N-reading is possible, but not probable.

611^x d :

Depues dezia Jop : Señor, el mi esperar
 e la mi paçiençia, ¿ quien yrá (va) consyderar
 al infierno muy fondo, do veo muchos llorar
 con las (las sus) muchas cuytas ? de *que* me vo espantar.

2. With *por*.

In view of the fact that the combination *por* + *relative pronoun* *que* is avoided today¹, the frequency of its occurrence in the *Rimado* is remarkable². Still more noteworthy is the fact that, while the expression *con que*, in which the antecedent of *que* is clausal, referring to all that has gone before (cf. German *somit*)³, is extremely common in Modern Spanish, *por que* in the sense of *on which account* and referring to a preceding idea, has vanished. To my knowledge this use of *por que* has not been pointed out before. There are eleven instances of this construction in the *Rimado*.

1. Cf. § 14, C.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*

3. For a different explanation of *con que*, see B.-C., p. 265. Cuervo, *Dicc.* II, 306¹, barely touches this point.

28 d :

el día de la fiesta nunca fue apartado
por mí el otro día que estaua otorgado
del
de fazer todas obras ; por *que* yo so muy culpado.
tales por *que* so muy culpado.

32 d (*el* in *a* refers to the fourth commandment) :

Cierto, Señor, pequé en él por mi ventura :
ca nunca los onrré nin tomé dende cura
commo seruir deuia, por la mi grant locura ;
por *que* agora mi alma siente mucha tristura.

The following cases are exactly parallel : 54 d, 59 d, 61 d,
103 b, 116 d, 1069 d. The following call for comment :

124 c :

A onbres ocçiosos muchos yerros contesçen
e muchas buenas obras por tal yerro falleçen ;
piensan en otros males, por *que* despues padescen
las penas del infierno, que nunca desfallesçen.

Here *que* may refer to *males*, or to the clause *piensan en otros males*. The latter seems the more probable, as the author is intimating that thinking about evil things causes idle men to abstain from doing good things, and for this reason idle men are damned.

404 d :

Ca quien tiene en sí saña sienpre será conparado
al ferido que en sí tiene el fierro enueninado
en la llaga apodrido e nunca lo ha sacado,
que de la tal dolencia non puede ser bien curado.
por *que* de la, etc.

The sense calls for *por que*, i. e. *and for this reason*. In regard to the meter, it is hard to determine whether this is a stanza of fourteen-syllable verses or of twelve. Three of the hemistichs point to a fourteen-syllable meter and can not be read otherwise; the others can all be read either as twelve or fourteen-syllable verse, except the one hemistich under discussion, for which N gives a six-syllable hemistich and E a seven-syllable one. The

evidence points to the latter kind of verse, and hence the E-reading become the more probable.

Note. The three following cases demand special consideration.

113 b. (The evils of anger are set forth. *Esta = yra*) :

Esta faz maldizientes e faz mal rrazonados
los vnos contra otros, por *que* son enfamados ;
muchos omnes sin culpa son por en menguados.

The meaning seems to be : Anger causes evil speaking and causes people to be on bad terms with each other, and for this reason they are slandered. The sequence of thought is poor. But if this be the meaning which the poet intended, *que* has a clausal antecedent and belongs under the preceding subdivision.

772 f (Prayer to be relieved from captivity, and the promise to lead a better life. The subject of *pueda* is *yo* understood) ;

e pueda la mi vida en mejor ordenar,
por *que*, Señor, de mi tu seas mas pagado.

We have here a case in which *por que* may be interpreted either as *on account of which*, or as a conjunction, *in order that*. The latter meaning is the more probable, but this sentence illustrates how *que* might pass from a relative pronoun to a conjunction, so that *por que* meaning *on account of which* may pass into *porque* meaning *in order that* in sentences in which there cannot be a possibility of interpreting *que* as a relative pronoun. (*Corre porque no te prendan.*)

1404 c (Let the sinner not despair. *Le* refers to the sinner. The subject of *dió* is *Dios*) :

remedio le dió luego por *que* se mejorase.

We have here a case similar to the preceding one (772 f), except that in the present example the meanings *by means of which* and *in order that* blend so thoroughly that they cannot be distinguished.

D. *When que is a relative adverb.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person.

There are 6 cases in the *Rimado*, to wit, 178 a, 286 c, 303 d, 366 a, 583 b, 1342 b, all of which will be found quoted under § 14, D, b.

a. A thing.

There are 38 instances, all of which are mentioned and discussed under § 14, D.

§ 12. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

A. *When que is the subject of its clause.*

a. The person of the verb in the relative clause is affected.

That the antecedent may affect the person of the verb in the relative clause and cause it to be other than in the third person, when the pronoun is the subject of the clause, is too well known a fact to demand comment. But it is well to emphasize what Diez pointed out¹, and what is not usually emphasized, that the relative pronoun in such cases is nearly always *que*. To be sure, Gessner quotes one example for *el cual* (with the second plural)², but it is the only one that I have seen.

The discussion of this question for the *Rimado* divides itself into the following groups :

1. The antecedent is (α) a personal pronoun of the first or second person, or (β) a personal pronoun of the second person followed by a name or noun of address. This construction is not an exceptional one for the Romance Languages and need not be dwelt upon.

α. 143 d :

e¿ qué será de mesquino de mi, *que* pequé tanto ?

232 a :

Señor poderoso, tu *que* esta fe nos diste

The other instances are 72 a, 110 b, 426 d, 764 c, 765 a, 766a, 767 a, 768 a, 769 a, 771 a, 772 a, 783 a, 1047 d, 559* a.

β. Only one example in the *Rimado*.

396 d (The first *que* = *for*) :

que somos flaca masa llena de grant horror,
qual tu, Señor, conosçes, *que* fuste formador.

1. *Rom. Gram.*, III 3, p. 372.

2. See § 48, foot-note.

2. The antecedent may be the predicate after a verb whose subject is a personal pronoun of the first or second person. Of this construction only one example occurs and the predicate antecedent follows the verb of the second person.

783 *a* (*tu* refers to the Virgin) :

Tu que eres la estrella *que* guardas a los errados
 Tu eres la estrella tu guardas a los errados
 amansa mi querella.

Both readings make good sense ; both can be easily emended by dropping the *a* before *los*. But the N-reading is the more probable, since the E-reading would involve the passing from the indicative to the imperative (*amansa*) in a way which is rather jarring.

3. The antecedent may be what, for want of a better name, I call an appositional predicate. Thus, in 733*a*, we have (the Virgin is addressed) :

vendicha tu, la madre *que* a Dios conçeibiste

which is equivalent to : vendicha tu, [*que* eres] la madre *que*, etc. Five examples of this construction occur, as follow.

434 *d* :

¿ quien sodes ?
 Señor, le digo, yo, vn omne *que* vengo de Toledo.
 Olmedo.

733 *a, b, c* :

vendicha tu, la madre *que* a Dios conçeibiste,
 vendicha la muger *que* tal fijo pariste,
 vendicha la donzella *que* nunca corronpiste.

853 *a* :

Señoras, vos, las dueñas, *que* por mi y tenedes
 . . . monjas
 oraçion a la virgen.

4. The antecedent is a noun, and, in a loose way, is of the first person. These cases are interesting, and I quote them all in full. It will be seen that sometimes the verb in the relative

clause agrees psychologically with the antecedent and sometimes it does not so agree.

α. The verb agrees psychologically, the verb being in the first person.

709 d (The poet is addressing the Lord) :

e tu seruicio será en cobrar esta vegada
vna oveja muy errada *que* en el yermo me perdi.

vna oveja errada = *mí*, and the poet did not hesitate to use the first person singular of the verb in the relative clause. It must be noted, however, that the rime would not have allowed the third person.

The E-reading for this passage is clearly corrupt, as is indicated by the breaking of the rime-scheme :

en cobrar esta uegada el tu seruicio querria
vna oveja muy errada que tal yerro me pedia.

862 d (*della* refers to the Virgin) :

E fiz este cantar con muy grant deboçion
della, con esperança que me gane perdon
de mis grandes pecados e me dé consolaçion
e dé consolaçion
a la mi alma pobre, *que* la puse en son.

la mi alma = *mí*. The verb agrees psychologically with it. Both Mss. have the same reading and the case is all the more interesting as *puso* would have been metrically just as good, if not better (*puse en*).

985 b :

Señor, ya la mi vida enoja cada dia
a esta mi alma pobre, *que* sofrir non podia
atanta amargura.....

Here, the form of the verb gives no clue to the person, but from the preceding example it may be safely inferred that *podia* was felt as first person.

1054 c :

ca non so sinon commo foja *que* ayna me perdi
 sinon foja *que*, etc.
 por vn ligero viento e çedo fallasçy.

Here, again, as in 709 d¹, the rime demands the first person. It must also be observed that in both 709 d and in this case, *que* may be interpreted as a conjunction in the sense of *for*.

3. The verb does not agree psychologically, i. e. it is in the third person.

739 d :

rresçibe estos versos, señora piadosa,
 del tu sieruo *que* padasçe pena muy perigrosa.
 del sierbo *que*

del tu sieruo might = *mí*, but metrically the E-reading is better and, with the omission of *tu*, the reference to the speaker becomes less definite, and hence the reason for using the first person in the relative clause becomes less evident.

764 d :

Señor.....
 libra este tu sieruo *que* yaze oluidado

este tu sieruo leaves no doubt about the person referred to ; yet the verb is third person.

809 h :

e fize luego commo oraçion
 rrogando a Dios *que* quisiese fazer
 e conplir deseos del pobre uaron
que aquestos rrimos quiso conponer.

Here, again, as in 739 d, the connection between *pobre uaron* and *mí* is rather remote.

830 b, d :

Señora, estrella luziente
que a todo el mundo guia,

1. Quoted above.

guia a este tu seruiente,
que su alma en ti fia.

In line *b* one would certainly have expected *guias*, and the exigencies of the rime surely had a great influence in determining the form of the verb. As for *d*, the case is not so clear, although here also the rime may have played a part. But in 764 *d* we saw a similar case.

It must be added that these lines are repeated in stanzas 831, 832 and 833.

b. The number of the verb in the relative clause is affected.

Just as there are cases among independent clauses in which usage hesitates in regard to the numeral agreement of the verb, so also in relative clauses. The *Rimado* offers nothing remarkable for *que* in this respect, whether the antecedent be a singular collective noun, or composed of parts connected by « *and* » or « *or* ». There are two examples, however, which do not come under either of the heads just mentioned.

1. The antecedent is plural, but its parts may be regarded as making up a single whole, and the verb in the relative clause may therefore be singular. One instance in the *Rimado*.

467 *c* (The poet tells the answers which a creditor of the state receives when he tries to collect his debts) :

o en Abenverga podedes, si quisierdes, ser bien librado,

 o en diezmos de la mar, *que* es dinero bien contado.

2. The type of antecedent is « una de las cosas. »

Logically the plural is to be expected, but frequently the singular is used, as, in « una de las cosas que más debe dar contento, etc. »¹. Cf. the English usage in the same construction. Only one case of this kind occurs in the *Rimado*, and the verb is plural.

1. Quoted in *G. L. R.*, III, p. 702.

895 c :

... tu fablaste commo vna de las locas
mugeres *que* non saben atenprar en sus bocas
los juyzios de Dios...

B. *When que is an accusative.*

The influence of the antecedent is felt in :

a. The agreement of the past participle of a compound tense with the antecedent.

The rule in modern Spanish in that when the auxiliary verb is *haber*, the past participle does not agree with the object ; when *tener* is used, it is not regarded as an auxiliary verb (though it often has the force of one) and the past participle agrees with the object. In Old Spanish the general rule was that with *haber* the past participle agrees with the object, but hesitation begins early for even in the *Poema del Cid* instances of the modern construction are found¹. In the writings of Don Juan Manuel (1320-1335) the variability of the past participle is still fairly common². In the *Rimado* as far as the relative pronoun is concerned, the conditions outlined below obtain. It happens that in the *Rimado*, *que* is the only relative pronoun with which this question arises, since with all the other accusative relatives, the antecedent is masculine or neuter singular, or the verb is not used in a compound tense.

1. The past participle is used with the verb *haber*. Fourteen cases occur in the *Rimado*. Of these only one is not in rime.

650a :

Estas cosas *que* he dicho quiero apropiar,

where the meter would have allowed the poet to say *dichas* if he had chosen to do so.

1. Cf. Salvá, *Gram.* p. 440; and Araujo, *Gram. del Poema del Cid*, pp. 240-1; Men. Pidal, p. 360.

2. Cf. Dönne, p. 18.

Of the thirteen cases that occur in rime, *que* refers in four (192b, 1155d, 1243a, 576* b) to a masculine singular antecedent, so that the form of the past participle offers no solution to the question under discussion.

In five cases the antecedent is not masculine singular, but the participle is. These are 478d, 763b, 617a, 596* b, 645* c.

In the remaining four cases (811f, 1418c, 1526d, 1555c), the antecedent is not masculine singular and the participle agrees with it.

It is evident that for rime purposes the poet was at liberty to do as he pleased. The one case which does not occur in rime is, of course, not sufficient to establish usage, and only a careful study of all objects with compound tenses would throw sufficient light on this part of the question.

2. The past participle is used with *tener*.

There are seven instances, of which one does not occur in rime.

647* b :

Busca commo syn culpa este tal foyr podria
la culpa del pecado *que* asy fecha tenia,

where the past participle agrees with the antecedent *culpa*.

In five cases in which the past participle occurs in rime, the antecedent is not masculine singular and the participle agrees with it. These are 244c, 433c, 458d, 1136b, 671* d.

The rule is broken in

259b :

Pues commo los caualleros, lo fazen, mal pecado,
en villas e logares *quel* rey les tiene dado.

The explanation of this peculiar construction probably lies in the exigencies of rime ¹.

1. Still it may be worth while to note that, in a chronicle written (not by Ayala), perhaps fifty years before the *Rimado*, is found the following sentence

b. Sentences in which the antecedent re-appears in the relative clause as a personal pronoun, or to state the matter differently, the relative pronoun is repeated by means of a personal pronoun¹.

The following cases occur.

106 b:

E dexe yo al pobre de fambre peresçer,
que con pan e agua le pudiera acorrer.

608 b (The poet mentions the things which a king ought to have, *otras* modifies *cosas* understood) :

Otrosi en el su rregno tres otras deue auer
que todo rrey o prinçipe las deue escoger.

1389 d (The justice of God's judgments is set forth) :

que con juez lo auemos *que le* non corronpe pecho
ca que non corronpe pecho

Also 174 d, 666 d, 847 b, 937 d and

443^xc, which I quote because it is particularly interesting :

..... mucho te acaloñaste
contra mí, tu sieruo pobre, *que* muy linpio *me* criaste.

1. The antecedent (or relative) may be repeated by means of a personal pronoun in a dependent clause, included in the relative clause, and on the verb of which the relative pronoun depends. One case :

(*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, vol. LXVI, p. 7¹, bottom) : « En el seteno año del regnado... el rey don Alfonso estava en Sevilla é el infante don Enrique estava en Lebrija, é dijeron al rrey que el infante don Enrique *tenia fecho* fablas con algunos ricos homes é caballeros del reino en su deservicio. » Cuervo (B.-C., Notas, p. 95) quotes ; « ¿ De quién no tiene alcanzado triunfos ? », as a « portuguesismo » which slipped from the pen of Fray Luis de Granada and mentions other writers guilty of the same slip. I desire here merely to point out that this construction occurs both before and after Ayala's poem and in cases where rime does not enter into consideration.

1. Cf. Gessner, p. 460, Bemerkung.

325^a (The evil minded man will be punished):

E entre otras cosas *que* malas padesçerá
esta será la vna *que* con grant confusion terná

573^b (The poet is interpreting a passage from Job):

Dixo « las mis entrañas en tierra derramó : »
esto es las voluntades *quel* enemigo vió
buenas e para Dios *seruir*, e él las trastornó.

Note to § 12. It is a rule of Spanish grammar that *todo*, or *todos*, **can** not by itself be the antecedent of any relative pronoun except *cuanto(s)* ¹. Therefore with a clause whose pronoun is *que* we should not expect to find *todo* by itself as an antecedent. There seems to be however, one such case in the *Rimado*.

301^d:

Las cosas *que* pasaron, çierto es *que* non son
las *que* son por venir ; avn non es su sazón.
Por ende entender puede aquí qual quier varón
commo nada es todo *que* nos pone en ocasyon.

The meaning of line *d* seems to be : how every thing that brings us misfortune is nothing. » i. e., as the things of the past are gone, so present misfortunes will pass away.

§ 13. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

A. *When que is the subject of its clause.*

Bello states : « *Que* es el (relativo) *que* generalmente se usa como sujeto, y como acusativo de cosa, en las proposiciones especificativas ² », in other words, whenever an adjective relative is the subject of a restrictive clause or is an accusative of thing in such a clause, the relative pronoun to be used is generally *que*. It is with *que* as a subject that we are here concerned

1. Mätzner, *Synt.*, II, p. 223 ; Wiggers, p. 112 b, c ; Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 644².

2. B.-C., p. 286.

and for this construction Bello's rule receives absolute confirmation in the *Rimado*. Without exception, all restrictive clauses with an adjective relative pronoun for a subject are introduced by *que*. There are 223 such clauses.

Bello's rule does not, of course, mean that adjective *que* may not also be the subject of explanatory clauses. In the *Rimado* there are 445 clauses with adjective *que* for a subject, and of these 222, or just one half, are explanatory.

Examples of restrictive clauses, 783a¹, 895 c².

Examples of explanatory clauses, 143 d³, 388 c⁴.

B. When *que* is an accusative.

From Bello's rule quoted just above we learn that when an adjective relative pronoun referring back to a thing is used as an accusative in a restrictive clause, the pronoun should be *que*. Here again, as in the case of subject *que*, Bello's rule is confirmed. Indeed it is more than confirmed, for in the *Rimado*, all restrictive clauses (no matter whether the antecedent be a person or a thing), in which the relative pronoun is an accusative are introduced by *que*, except when the antecedent is *todo* in which case *cuanto* is used.

Accusative *que* occurs in 277 clauses. In 32 of these *que* has a personal antecedent and of these 32 clauses, 13 are explanatory. There remain 245 clauses with a thing-antecedent and of these, 42 are explanatory.

Examples of restrictive clauses: 647^x b⁵, 259 b⁵.

Examples of explanatory clauses: 236 d⁶ and

1. Quoted § 12, A, a, 2.

2. Quoted § 12, A, b, 2.

3. Quoted § 12, A, a, 1; α.

4. Quoted § 11, A, c.

5. Quoted § 12, B, a, 2.

6. Quoted § 12, B, c.

168 b :

Tañiendo peca onbre, quando toma plazer
en cosas desonestas, *que* non deue tañer.

C. *When que is the object of a preposition.*

The only rules given by Bello that come under this head are : « Después de las preposiciones *á*, *de*, *en*, en proposiciones especificativas es mejor *que* » ¹, and on the same page, further down : « Después de *con* se emplea á menudo *que*, pero tiene bastante uso *el cual* (y no tan bien, a mi juicio *el que*), sobre todo en las proposiciones explicativas, y particularmente si son algo largas o cierran el período » ². » With other prepositions, according to Bello, *que* should not be used, or only rarely, no matter what the nature of the clause ³.

In the *Rimado* the following conditions obtain. Adjective *que* does not occur as the object of *á*. With *de*, it occurs 21 times, and 7 of the clauses are explanatory. With *en*, adjective *que* occurs 36 times, and 10 of the clauses are explanatory. For *de* and *en*, then, Bello's rule may be said to hold. With *con*, adjective *que* occurs 19 times (6 of the clauses being explanatory), which may be said to justify Bello's *se emplea á menudo*, especially compared with *el cual* ⁴, with which it occurs 4 times, all of the clauses being explanatory, and also compared with *el que* ⁵, with which it occurs only once and in explanatory clause. So that Bello's rule holds also for *con*.

Only one other preposition is used with *que* in the *Rimado*, and that preposition is *por*. It occurs in this connection 27 times, and 15 of the clauses are explanatory. The large number of

1. B. C., p. 287.

2. As far *el cual* is concerned, Cf. § 49.

3. Cf. B.-C., pp. 287-288.

4. Cf. § 50, C.

5. Cf. § 23, C.

explanatory clauses is due chiefly to the cases of clausal antecedent, of which there are 11, and for all of which the clause is explanatory ¹.

Example of restrictive clause with *con* : 230 a ; with *de* : 655 c ; with *en* : 117 b ; with *por* : 597 a.

Example of explanatory clause with *con* : 173 b ; with *de* : 25 b ² ; with *en* : 313 d ³ ; with *por* : 32 d ⁴.

D. *When que is a relative adverb.*

Little need be said on this subject. No grammar touches upon it, and it is not of great importance, because *que* is the only pronoun which is used in this construction, and hence comparison with other pronouns is impossible. Suffice it to say, that the overwhelming majority of the clauses are restrictive : Cf. 19 d, 149 c ⁵, 178 a, 303 d. A few are explanatory : Cf. 286 c ⁶.

Note to, § 13. In the following passage we seem to have a *si quis* clause ⁷, at least as far as line *c* is concerned.

453^a :

El omne *que* aqui biue en esta carne mortal
llo de suziedades e tentaçion de mal,
non seria marauilla sy Dios aqui non val
e sy se non arrepiente, que se pierda este tal.

§ 14. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Que is the subject of its clause.*

For examples of this construction see § 11, A, § 12, A, § 13, A.

1. Cf. § 11, C, c, 2.

2. Quoted § 11, C, c, 1.

3. Quoted in § 11, C, c, 1.

4. Quoted in § 11, C, c, 2.

5. Quoted in § 14, D, a, 1.

6. Quoted in § 14, D, b, 2.

7. For a discussion of this kind of clause, see § 61, b.

There are 445 instances where *que* is the subject of its clause and these instances exceed in number all other constructions of *que* put together, i. e. *que* is preëminently a subject pronoun. Moreover, a comparison with the other adjective relatives¹ reveals the fact that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the subject relative is *que* (445 against 23 — *el que*, 4; *lo que*, 1; *cual*, 3; *el cual*, 10; *lo cual*, 4; *quien*, 1 doubtful instance). To be sure, this preponderance of *que* is found in all other constructions, but in the subject construction the preponderance of *que* is greater than in the other constructions.

The following constructions belong under this head.

a. Sometimes the subject *que* is separated from its predicate by an intervening subordinate clause. This construction is worth mentioning because in it *que* bears the prosodic accent, which is usually avoided for this pronoun². Three cases.

661 b :

Son muchos en el mundo, despues que son privados,
que, do mas tieno deuen tomar, serán menguados
do mas tieno deuen tomar, ally son mas menguados.

Read :

Que, do mas tieno deuen tomar, son mas menguados³.

959 b :

Por ypocrita tenia él a Job en su hablar,
comparando lo al junco, *que*, si el agua le menguar,
luego es seco e non puede verde mucho durar.

The third example is in 1061 a.

b. Zeugmatic construction. *Que* serves not only as the subject of the first verb of its clause, but also as accusative for a

1. Cf. § 23, A; § 36; § 45, A; 50, A; § 53, A; § 58, A.

2. Cf. B.-C., p. 288, 1082.

3. I am aware that this reading involves overflow between the hemistichs. I expect to show, some day, that for the *Rimado* there is not only overflow from hemistich to hemistich, but from verse to verse, and, in one or two cases from stanza to stanza.

second verb. I do not find these zeugmatic constructions, of which there are several in the *Rimado*¹, noted anywhere. For *que*, subject of the first verb and accusative with the second, one instance occurs.

693 b:

Non podría grant tienpo tales cosas contar
que cada día pasan e veemos practicar.

B. *Que is an accusative.*

For examples of this construction see § 11, B, § 12, B, and § 13, B. There are 277 such instances. As in the case of subject *que*², the number of accusative *qué* greatly exceeds the accusatives of all other adjective relatives taken together³, the proportion being 277 to 16 (adjective *el que*, 0; adjective *lo que*, 1; *cual*, 6; *el cual*, 6; *lo cual*, 2; adjective *quien*, 1).

The following constructions belong under this head.

a. Zeugmatic construction⁴. *Que* is not only an accusative, but serves also to express another case relation with another verb, the other case relation being *por* + *que*. One example.

444^x c (The poet is interpreting a passage from Job):

Entiende se por « senderos », los buenos pensamientos;
 por « pisadas » e « rrastras », fuertes començamientos
 de pecados *que* Dios juzga e pone escarmientos,
 do nos mas enñadimos millares mas de çiento.

Line c = *que* Dios juzga y por los *cuales* pone escarmientos.

1. Cf. B, a of this, § and, § 28, B, a.

2. Cf. A of this §.

3. Cf. § 23, B; § 36; § 45; B; § 50, B; § 53, B; § 58, B.

4. For other examples of zeugmatic constructions, Cf. A, b of this §, and § 28, B, a.

b. *Que* with the elliptical infinitive. Type :

350 a:

Si touiere el mal fechor algunas cosas *que* dar,
alguna cosa
luego fallo veynte leyes . . .

For a discussion of this construction, see § 16, B, a, 2.

C. Que is the object of a preposition.

Concerning the use of prepositions with relative pronouns, Bello gives, for Modern Spanish, the following rules ¹:

1. With *á, de, en* in restrictive clauses use *que*.
2. With *con*, *que* is often used, also *el cual*, less preferably *el que*.
3. With *por, sin, tras*, use either *el cual* or *el que*.
4. With polysyllabic prepositions *que* is rarely used.

These rules will serve as a standard of comparison between the Modern Spanish usage and that of the *Rimado*. The prepositions used with *que* in the *Rimado* are *con*, *de*, *en* and *por*. The most numerous instances occur with *en* (36) ; *por* follows (27), then *de* (21), and finally *con* (19). Adjective *que* occurs, therefore, 103 times as the object of a preposition, oftener than all the other adjective relatives put together. The proportion is 103 times for *que* to 48 times for the other pronouns together ² (adjective *el que*, 2 ; adjective *lo que*, 1 ; *cual*, 2 ; *el cual*, 15 ; *lo cual*, 1 ; adjective *quien*, 27).

I shall now take up the constructions with each preposition.

Con. Bello's statement that *con* is often used with *que* is confirmed in the *Rimado*. Indeed, *con* is used oftener with *que* than with all the other adjective relatives put together². The pro-

1. B.-C., p. 287.

2. Cf. § 23, C; § 36; § 45, C; § 50, C; § 53, C; § 58, C.

portions are 19 for *que* and 11 for the other pronouns (adjective *el que*, 1; adjective *lo que*, 0; *cual*, 1; *el cual*, 4; *lo cual*, 0; adjective *quien*, 5).

De. The use of *de* with restrictive clauses belongs under § 13, C and has already been discussed there. *De* occurs more frequently with *que* than with all the other adjective relatives combined¹, the proportions being 21 to 13 (adjective *el que*, 1; adjective *lo que*, 0; *cual*, 0; *el cual*, 5; *lo cual*, 1; adjective *quien*, 6).

En. The use of *en* with restrictive clauses belongs under § 13, C and has been discussed there. The proportion for *en* + *que* against *en* + all other adjective relatives is 36 to 6 (adjective *el que*, 0; adjective *lo que*, 0; *cual*, 1; *el cual*, 1; *lo cual*, 0; adjective *quien*, 4). From this enumeration it is apparent that in the *Rimado*, *que* is almost the only relative pronoun used after *en*, the most important exception being *quien*. The four times that *en* occurs with *quien*, the pronoun has a personal antecedent¹.

Por. Meyer-Lubke states: « On dit toujours *aquí jaz el carnero los dos cuernos del qual Quebrantó Alexandre* (Alex. 1640) *et por el cual* afin de le distinguer de *porque* ². » Bello says that in such cases, « es preferible *el cual*, o si se quiere, *el que* », but he quotes « el partido *por que* me intereso » as correct Modern Spanish³. To this may be added the following sentence from Menéndez Pidal: « Víctima de sus enemigos... escribió en 1471 el libro de las *Bienandanzas y Fortunas*, donde á vueltas de las aventuras *por que* pasaron los príncipes y gentes de las cuatro religiones, ingiere la mayor parte de las historias patrias ⁴. »

1. Cf. § 55.

2. *G. L. R.*, III, p. 698.

3. *B.-C.*, p. 263.

4. *Infantes de Lara*, p. 62.

While, then, *por* + relative pronoun *que* has not entirely died out in Modern Spanish, it is nevertheless true that the expression is avoided and occurs rarely. In the older language, however, conditions are different. For the writings of Don Juan Manuel, Dönne remarks: « In der Verbindung mit *por* wahrte *que* häufig seinen Charakter als Relativpronomen ¹. »

In the *Rimado*, there is no tendency whatever to avoid the use of *por* before the pronoun *que*. On the contrary, it is with *que* that *por* is used in the majority of instances. More remarkable still, *por* is used with *que* having a clausal antecedent 11 times ², while *por lo cual* occurs only 6 times. The proportion of *por* + *que* to *por* + any other adjective relative ³ is 27 to 11 (adjective *el que*, 0; adjective *lo que*, 1; *cual*, 0; *el cual*, 2; *lo cual*, 6; adjective *quien*, 2), in other words, *por* before *que* is not only not avoided, but is greatly preferred.

For examples of *preposition* + *que* cf. § 11, C and § 13, C.

Note. The most remarkable thing about the use of prepositions before *que* in the *Rimado* is the total absence of *d*, Wiggers states: « Das Fürwort *que* wird nicht mit *d* verbunden ⁴. » This statement is contradicted by Bello's rule which expressly advises the use of *que* after *d* in restrictive clauses ⁵. Dönne points to Wiggers's rule as one not followed in Don Juan Manuel, but also quotes an example of *d que* from Modern Spanish. Wiggers's rule is true only when the antecedent is personal. The following list of examples, besides the one given by Bello ⁶, will be sufficient to show that the rule in Wiggers should be changed. This list could easily be increased by dozens of other examples. Cuervo, *Dicc.* I, p. xix middle, and again bottom; II, p. 713²; Knapp, *Spanish Grammar*, p. 132, two examples; Salvá, *Dicc. Suplemento*, p. 311, s. v. *Sodoma*; Galdós, *Un Voluntario Realista* (5th edition, Madrid), p. 44; Galdós, *El Audaz* (4th edition, Madrid), p. 127; Galdós, *Doña Perfecta* (8th edition, Madrid), p. 36; Menéndez Pidal, *Los Infantes de Lara*, p. 52 and p. 86.

1. Dönne, p. 14.

2. Cf. § 11, C, c, 2.

3. Cf. § 23, C; § 36; § 45, C; § 50, C; § 53, C; § 58, C.

4. Wiggers, p. 92.

5. Cf. § 13, C.

6. B.-C, p. 287.

In the writings of Don Juan Manuel, *d* is used before *que* even when the antecedent of *que* is personal¹. The absence of *d* + adjective *que* in the *Rimado* is, therefore, surprising. *á* occurs in our poem before an adjective relative 13 times — 3 times with *el cual*² and 9 times with adjective *quien*³ (this does not include *d* with personal accusative). With *quien*, however, the antecedent in 8 of the 9 instances is personal⁴.

The explanation for the absence of *d* + adjective *que* is not to be found in the relative adverb, where one might expect to find it. No cases of relative adverb *que* = *d que* occur. I have no explanation to offer except the simple, but unsatisfactory one, of accident.

a. The following construction belongs under this head.

When the antecedent of the relative *que* and the relative itself are both objects of the same (but not identical) preposition, the preposition is put before the antecedent and is not repeated before the relative⁵. This construction has been common from the earliest times⁶ and is the regular construction to-day, although examples of the « correct » construction may also be found from the earliest times to the present day. In the *Rimado*, 5 instances of the regular construction occur: 26 b, 540 d⁷, 1375 b, 1502 c, 466^x b. Two of these examples, 1375 b (... en aquel punto *que* fue crucificado) and 466^x b (... Adan perdió vestiduras de ynocencia en punto *que* pecó), might be classed also under the relative adverb⁸.

No cases occur in the *Rimado* in which the preposition is repeated before the relative *que*.

1. Dönne, p. 13.

2. Cf. § 50, C.

3. Cf. § 58, C.

4. Cf. § 55.

5. Cf. B.-C., p. 256; Wiggers, p. 94; G. L. R., p. 700.

6. Cf. Marden, p. XLV; Dönne, p. 14.

7. Quoted, in, § 68, II, B, a.

8. Cf. This §, D, a, 1.

D. *Que is a relative adverb.*

The term « relative adverb » is used to describe certain loose constructions of the relative pronoun *que*, and is rather a matter of classification than of historical truth ¹. On account of this looseness of construction, classification sometimes becomes difficult. However, the relative adverb does not offer many phases in the *Rimado* and these phases are given below.

a. The most common occurrence of the relative adverb is after words denoting a division, or point, of time. In these cases *que* may denote :

1. The division of time *in* which something happens, i. e. *que* may be said to = *en que*.

149 c :

Quando llegare el plazo *que* alla avemos dir,
vamos aperçebidos...

The other examples are : 19 d, 418 d, 681ⁱ b, 775 a, 825 e, 902 b, 1064 a, 1207 d, 1240 d, 1268 d, 1272 b, 1312 d, 1331 d, 392^x d, 469^x c, 556^x d.

The following cases also belong here :

α. The *que* denotes “time in which”, but is really a cognate accusative. Three examples, all of them with the verb *durar*.

561^d a :

¿ Do estan los muchos años *que* avemos durado
en este mundo malo..... ?

The other instances are : 1029 a ², 380^x a.

β. The antecedent is *agora*. Two instances.

196 a :

Agora el papadgo es puesto en riqueza
quel
de le tomar qual quier non toman pereza
lo quiera non le toma grant pereza,

where the E-reading for line *a* is clearly the better.

1. Cf. Tobler, F, p. 123 and p. 127.

2. Quoted below under d, 1.

The other example is : 924 a.

2. *Que* denotes a period of time since which a thing has, or has not happened, i. e. *que* may be said to = *desde que*.

300 b (A merchant is trying to persuade a buyer) :

Diz : tengo escarlatas de Brujas e de Mellinas ;
veynte años ha *que* nunca fueron en esta tierra tan finas.

The other examples are : 359 b, 427 a, 440 d, 464 b, 500 b, 722 a, 770 d, 811 b.

b. The *que* refers to a noun which does not denote time.

1. *Que* together with a dative personal pronoun = *á quien* ¹.

366 a (The sins of the tax-gatherer are deplored) :

Ay algunos buenos omnes *que* les pesa mucho desto.

The other instances are : 178 a, 303 d, 1342 b.

2. *Que* = *de que* or *de quien* ². Four (?) instances.

583 b :

Del rrey Dauid sabemos que ouo grant poder,
e otros muy grandes príncipes *que* solemos leer.

In the next example we have *que* in the sense of a partitive genitive ³.

286 c :

E sean con el rrey al consejo llegados

.....
buenos omnes de villas *que* ay muchos onrrados
ha muchos e onrrados

In the third example, the relative adverb is made clearer by a genitive personal pronoun.

1. For the same construction, cf. Marden, p. XLV.

2. Cf. Dönne, p. 14.

3. Cf. Gessner, p. 461 ; Wiggers, p. 94.

171 b :

Oler es vn sentido, si es desordenado,
que se sigue del muchas vezes pecado.

The fourth example is of doubtful value on account of difference of the Mss.

372 d :

asi commo rrazonamos por vn omne descuydado
que dezimos *que* es manso e mucho asosegado.
do muy

With the N-reading we should have a sentence of peculiar construction : « an easy-going man of whom we say that he is gentle » ; with E, we must interpret : « in whose case we say that he is etc. »

c. *Tanto que.*

That *que* in this expression, when it means "as long as" is a relative adverb which goes back originally to a relative pronoun will be apparent from the order in which the examples are arranged below.

924 d :

contento so con tanto *que* vos me enseñedes.
consejedes.

Here *que* is clearly a relative pronoun and the direct object of a verb.

984 c :

..... mas non puedo en tanto.
quel miedo en mi dubda, rrazonar me por santo.
dura

Here *que* is a relative adverb equal to *en que*, as also in the following example.

1107 b :

Veo me muy aquexado, dezia Job; en tanto
que vos ouiendo fuerças e males e quebranto
que vos sufriendo
non me oye ninguno, e por ende me espanto

The E-reading is the correct one.

The step from *en tanto que* to *tanto que, as long as*, is not a difficult one. Three examples.

106 d (I left the poor man to die of hunger) :

e dél oue poco duelo.
tanto *que* al mi cuerpo cunpla al su plazer.
pudiese dar plazer.

304 d (Subject of *tienen* is *mercadores*) :

e con todos los diablos fecha tienen cofradia
tanto *que* ellos en el mundo transdoblen la contia.

Here, *tanto que* shades off into the meaning *provided that*.

1126 c :

tanto *que* ellos ayan sus deseos conplidos
poco les viene mientes si les rrecreçen gemidos.

1. By analogy to *tanto que* we have *quanto que*; but the *que* has no further justification than analogy¹. There are two cases in the *Rimado*. The order in which I give them illustrates the same transition as in the case of *que* after *tanto*.

645 * d :

.....alcança esta gloria que el ovo deseado,
e despues va perder quanto *que* ovo cobrado.

1119 d :

.....e podredes rreyr
despues, si vos pluguiere; yo lo quiero sofrir
quanto *que* vos quisierdes fablar e departir.

d. Type : *por mucho que*.

That in a sentence like *por mucho que ayunes e fagas oraçion..., si paz en ti no ouieres, estarás en ocasion* (536 a), the *por* is an original preposition and the *que* an original relative pronoun has been demonstrated for the French by Tobler², and, as usual, in

1. Cf. Bello, *Poema del Cid*, p. 319. For a similar addition of an unnecessary *que*, cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 650¹.

2. Tobler, II, pp. 20-28.

such a way as to settle the question definitively. Haase¹, while not discussing the subject, gives examples for XVII century French, but puts them under the interrogative pronoun, the reason for which classification I fail to see. Meyer-Lübke² without going into details sums up the matter for such of the Romance languages as have this mode of expression. The arguments and developments which Tobler gives apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Spanish. The examples given below (all that are to be found in the *Rimado*) are arranged to illustrate the passage from the original construction, to the concessive and adverbial one.

1. In the following group, *por* is clearly a preposition with one of its various meanings and *que* is clearly a relative pronoun.

552 c (Man should think of the future and not indulge in mundane pleasures) :

por poco plazer *que* ha mucho pesar espera
con mal

Por = *in return for*.

586 c (The Alcaldes should not be poor) :

ca por diez *que* sean entre çiento guardados,
por los diez *que*
serian los nouenta de ligero dañados.

Por = *for* (for every ten who, etc.).

615 c (The king should have good counsellors) :

ca por buenas cabeças ha todo a pasar,
que antes *que* determinen lo aurân de examinar

Por = *through*.

766 e (The poet is addressing the Lord) :

.....me ouiste conprado
por tu preçiosa sangre, *que* por mi derramaste

Por = *with, by means of*.

1. *Synt. Franç. du XVII^e siècle*, p. 101.

2. *G. L. R.*, III, p. 710.

773 a :

por estas marauillas *que* feziste, Señor,
 vengo yo pecador
 a ti pedir merçed

Por = *on account of*.

798 c, *por* has the same meaning as in 773 a.

960 b, similar to 552 c.

960 d, similar to 552 c.

1029 a :

Por vn muy breue tienpo *que* aqui nos duramos,
 con blanduras de carnes nuestras almas cargamos.

Por = *for the sake of*.

The other cases offer nothing additional in the way of variation from those given, and so I give the references without further explanation : 1216 b, 1422 c, 1355 c, 1596 d, 341 * b, 380 * a, 401 * c, 479 * a.

2. The concessive meaning is present, but *que* is still clearly a relative pronoun.

179 d :

ca sy en el tu coraçon el rrencor guardarás,
 non te aprouechan bienes por muchos *que* farás.

(*Bienes* = *good deeds*).

261 c (The lords do not leave off demanding taxes) :

non lo dexan por lagrimas *que* oyan nin gemidos

420 d :

ca por çierto non cuydes *que* tu rrecabdarás,
 si non sabes qué pides, por bozes *que* darás.

680 d :

e por mucho *que* dé nunca aprouechará.

860 d, Similar to 680 d.

1035 b :

la buena sapiençia e del justo saber
 es por bienes *que* omne tenga nunca ensoberueçer

1432 c, Similar to 420 d.

367* c, Similar to 680 d.

641* d (Subject of *beua* is *el trópico* = *el hidrópico*) :

por mucha agua *que* beua avn querria mas tragar

3. The concessive meaning is combined with *que* which has become an adverb.

536 a¹.

1020 b (Man can not understand God's judgments) :

El su alto juyzio non es por ti menguado ;
por mucho *que* pesquiras non será alcançado.

1068 c. Again *mucho* modifies the verb).

1153 b (*él* = *Dios*) (*Mucho* modifies an adjective) :

A él non se conpara ningun omne naído
por mucho *que* sea de los bienes conplido.

1201 a. *Mucho* modifies a verb.

1352 a (*Mucho* modifies an adverb) :

Por mucho ascondido *que* fagas tu pecado,
delante aquel juez non puede ser çelado.

1385 a and 422* a. *Mucho* modifies the verb.

Such constructions as, *por rico que sea*, etc., do not occur in the *Rimado*; i. e. the *por* is followed either by a noun or by *much* (*poco*) used as an adjective and followed by a noun expressed or clearly understood (179 d and 641* d), or by *mucho* used as an adverb; in other words, as far as this construction in the *Rimado* is concerned, *que* may be a pronoun or a pro-adverb, but not a pro-adjective.

e. *Que* refers to an adverb, or adverbial expression, denoting manner.

254 a :

Uesta guisa *que* oydes pasa de cada dia
el pueblo muy lazado.

1. Quoted above, at the beginning of this subdivision (d).

Also 5d, 313 b.

f. *Que* is used in a comparison between the antecedent and another object ¹. In the one example occurring in the *Rimado* « mis yerros » are compared with those of « otro pecador ».

714 f :

ca yo veo mis culpas e mis yerros atales
que de otro pecador atantos non ley.

Note. Corrupt and obscure passages.

In the following passages, the corruptness of the text, or the obscurity of the thought, makes it impossible for me to unravel their meaning, at least for present. I make this statement rather than pass the difficulties over in silence. This, too, is the place to state that there may be cases where others will differ from my interpretation. The meanings of Spanish *que* are manifold and go back to different etymological origins. And so, in determining the nature of *que*, we are not guided, as in the case of *quien* and *el cual*, by form, but solely by the function of *que* in the sentence. Still, excepting in the cases which I have called doubtful, I believe that I have always had good reason for deciding as I have. I subjoin a list of the corrupt and of the obscure passages in some of which *que* is probably not a relative pronoun, 220c, 231d, 332d, 376a, 376b, 376c, 559c, 584d, 714c, 1060a, 1194d, 1225b, 1368d, 1540c, 488*b, 503*c, 503*d, 598*b, 599*d, 659*d.

SUBSTANTIVE *QUE*

(*Que* used as an indirect interrogative has been excluded.)

§ 15. When *que* is used as a substantive pronoun, its antecedent is always neuter; hence a discussion of the nature of the antecedent is unnecessary. The influence of the antecedent, too, need not detain us, since such influence is nowhere apparent, except in so far as it determines the use of *que*, for no other neuter substantive relative exists in Spanish except *cuanto*. Moreover, since the clause in which substantive *que* occurs is always restrictive², this subject likewise may be dismissed without further comment.

1. Cf. Gessner, p. 461.

2. Cf. § 8, 2.

§ 16. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Que* is the subject of its clause.

No cases occur, and I judge from the silence of the grammarians and from my own experience that instances of substantive *que* as a subject do not occur at all in the language. And yet, it seems difficult to understand why sentences like the following should not be possible. Non tengo *que* sea mejor de esto.

B. *Que* is an accusative.a. *Que* with the elliptical infinitive¹.

I treat, under this head, not merely substantive *que*, but also the instances in which the antecedent is expressed², because the two constructions are so closely interwoven that it would be difficult and unprofitable to treat them separately.

Gessner says : « Vielfach waltet hier nahe Berührung mit der indirekten Frage ob. » That the finite verb may be used instead of the infinitive he also mentions³. What he does not emphasize, although the matter becomes apparent from his examples, is that frequently the verb on which the infinitive depends is likewise expressed, so that the infinitive in such cases can not be said to be elliptical.

We have here a mingling of two constructions, one derived from the indirect question and the other a purely relative one. The following examples are arranged in groups to illustrate this statement more clearly.

1. The construction goes back to the indirect question. Merely to have a starting point, I begin with an example in which *que* is clearly an indirect interrogative.

1. On the probable origin of this construction, cf. B.-C., p. 294 ; Notas p. 61 and p. 124.

2. Cf. § 14, B, b.

3. Gessner, p. 488.

427 b :

agora me paresçe que non sé *que* fazer

which in clearly and indirect question.

568^x c (Excess of virtue may become a vice) :

E sy vsar queremos en dar nos a franquia,
 luego en nos rrequeçe (rrecresçe) la pura rroberia ;
 para buscar *que* demos de mal o qualquier via,
 catamos e rrobamos con muy grant osadia.

Here, we are a little farther away from the indirect question with a finite verb in place of a possible infinitive.

400 a (The poet penitently confesses and prays for mercy) :

E non sé, Señor, otra arma *que* tome¹ en tal sazón

 sinon lagrimas de sangre.....

This example might seem to be a relative construction, but it is more probable that we have here a case of an interrogative adjective put into relative form, rather than an original relative²; so that the original sentence was : e non sé, Señor, qué otra arma tome en tal sazón, etc.

We are, then, again on the border line of the indirect question, but not quite so near as in the previous example, at least as far as appearances go.

333 á :

Non ha *que* diga el cuytado, ca non tiene coraçón
 Non sabe *que*, etc.

Here, we have in the two Mss. an interchange of the construction under discussion and of that to be spoken of in 3.

1. Janer's reading, *tomé*, is manifestly wrong.

2. For a masterly presentation of this phenomenon, cf. B.-C., Notas, pp. 126-128.

2. The construction is clearly relative.

350 a¹.

577 d :

ca el tal por su culpa en yerro va caer
 que le sera demandado sin al *que* responder
 sin al rresponder

The E-reading is clearly wrong. In this example the antecedent is *al*.

338 b (The nobles desire war, because it is less expensive to feed soldiers in the enemy's country) :

ca en otras tierras llanas asaz fallan *que* comer.

216 b (The priesthood does not do its duty but looks after other things) :

Mas los nuestros perlados
 asaz han *que* fazer, por la nuestra ventura.

In the last example we closely approach the construction, *tengo unas cartas que escribir*, in which the idea of duty becomes apparent, w hich a change in the order of words, *tengo que escribir unas ca rtas* emphasizes still more (cf. our English, *I have a letter to write*, and *I have to write a letter*). Thence to *tengo que salir* is not a difficult step².

3. The construction is clearly substantive.

333 a³.

443 d (A petitioner is waiting to see the king) :

que aqui moraré esperando que entienda
 pero
 él commo le serui avn que non tengo *que* espienda
 el rrey commo lo serui mas non tengo quien me defienda.

1. Quoted in § 14, B, b.

2. Cf. B.-C., Notas, p. 124.

3. Quoted, under 1.

Both readings offer metrical difficulties. The context calls clearly for the meaning expressed by N, for the speaker has been complaining of the bribes which he has to give the door-keepers.

Here, as in **333 a**, we have a finite verb in the dependent clause.

464 a :

Señores, digo, non tengo ya *que* pueda spender
Señores, yo digo, non tengo ya *que* espender

Read :

Digo non tengo ya *que* pueda espender.

Here, the verb on which the infinitive depends is expressed.

In the following example, we have the infinitive construction and the construction with the finite verb in one and the same sentence.

681^k b (The poet warns favorites against depending on wealth that does not belong to them) :

Quando se rreconosçe, el algo es ya gastado,
nin tiene a *que* tornar nin *que* faga el cuytado

In the next and last example, we have the infinitive construction pure and simple.

363 d :

e puedo hablar en esto, ca en ello toue *que* fazer
abré *que* ver

The examples quoted in a are all that occur in the *Rimado* belonging under this head.

b. *Que* not with the elliptical infinitive or any construction resembling it.

624^{*} d :

Esta costunbre çierto todos los malos han
.....
que tienen que los otros nunca lo entenderán
e que es bueno e loado *que* ellos hablarán.

There is not the shadow of an indirect question about this *que*; nor is it possible to take it as a conjunction: There is, however, a possibility of emending to *lo que ellos hablarán*. As we have only one Ms. here, the example must be taken with caution.

C. *Que is the object of a preposition.*

Substantive *que* occurs in the *Rimado* with three prepositions *a*, *con*, *por*. As in B, *a*, we have either a finite verb or an elliptical infinitive.

With $\acute{a}$:

681^k bⁱ.

With *con* :

680 b (Let the king not make too great demands on the purse of this people and be grateful for what they give):

Sy oy si non cras el su grito terná
cras el sobdito le ternán.
con *que* syrúa al señor e nunca cansará
cansarán

(The rime words for *c* and *d* in both Mss. are *enojará* and *aprouechará*).

The N-reading is nonsense; the E-reading gives the clue. I read:

Sy oy si non cras el subdito terná
con *que* syrúa al señor e nunca cansará

i. e. Sooner or later the subject will have the wherewithal to serve his lord, etc.

With *por* :

417 b:

Los chiquillos infantiles que Herodes mató
poca culpa tenían por *que* los destruyó

1. Quoted in a near the end.

The *por que* here seems to stand for *de la cosa por la cual*. The construction is somewhat peculiar but the Mss. agree.

592 * a :

Cierto es que non pecó por *que* sufriese tanto
de amargura Jop, con tan cruo espanto

Again, we have a peculiar construction. The meaning is clear enough : Job did not sin to such an extent that *for it* he should suffer, etc.

632 * c (Bildad has been reproaching Job and the poet is commenting) :

Asy Vildat agora, veyendo de padesçer
a Jop atantas penas, queria ensoberuesçer,
deziendo quel fiziera por *que* con tal poder
era de Dios llagado, por el su meresçer.

Here, *por que* = *algo por lo cual*, a construction such as one would expect, and which is parallel to that in 680 b¹ (*con que syrua*). The use of the indicative in the present example does not affect the parallelism.

EL QUE AND AQUEL QUE

§ 17. It is necessary to explain why these formulae are treated separately from *que*. In a certain sense *el que* and *aquel que* may be considered as relative pronouns, as they are frequently the equivalent of the substantive *quien* in Modern Spanish². From the equations *el que* = *quien* and *aquel que* = *quien* it should follow, that *el que* = *aquel que* ; and this is often the case, although, as Cuervo remarks, *aquel que* is slightly more emphatic³.

1. Quoted above (preposition *con*).

2. Cf. B.-C., p. 90, and p. 275.

3. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, I, p. 591².

A comparison between the Ms. readings of the *Rimado* reveals a similar state of affairs for the earlier period of the language¹. The scribe of one manuscript writes one of these formulae and the other writes one of the other two. Sometimes the meter is affected by this substitution, so that it is possible to determine the correct reading. Sometimes the meter is not affected and it becomes difficult to establish the text. It is this interchangeableness of *aquel que*, *quien*, and *el que* in the *Rimado* which has caused me to treat *aquel que* and *el que* separately from *que*.

For the *Rimado* Mss. the conditions are as follow :

a. *Aquel que* and *quien* are interchanged.

594 b :

En la vna balança la justia terná
con la qual el condepne *aquel que* mal fará
a *quien*

where it is evident that, on account of the meter, *aquel que* (= *á aquel que*) is the better reading.

b. *El que* and *quien* are interchanged.

182 c :

De cada dia pides a Dios.....
que..... quiera perdonar,
asi commo tu-perdonas a *quien* te fue errar
al *que*

Where *a quien* and *al que* are metrically equivalent.

255 d :

non melo logrará *quien* fuere rrobador
el *que*

The meter demands the N-reading, unless we read : ... *el que* fuer rrobador, but as both Mss. have *fuere* such a reading does not seem advisable.

1. For *el que* = *quien* in Old Spanish, cf. also Marden, p. xlv.

469 d¹.

475 b :

..... su pena tiene cresçida
quien en la corte del rrey ha de andar a buscar vida
los que en la corte del rrey andan buscando su vida

It is not necessary to go into all the difficulties which this line presents, for our present purposes it suffices to point out that *quien en* and *lòs que en* are metrically equivalent.

479 c :

quien trae la vianda o el su tajador
el que trae la vianda dentro en el tajador
 por tal cabo alli llega que non puede peor.

The meter evidently demands *quien*.

515 b (*la* refers to *alcauala*) :

e *al que* la furtare ponen le muy grant pena
 e a *quien*

Al que and *a quien* are metrically equivalent.

538 c :

Señor, tu perdona a mi muy pecador
 asi commo yo perdono a *quien* me fizo error
al que

The meter gives no clue to the correct reading.

562 a :

Non está bien seguro *el que* asi ha de caer
quien

Again, the meter gives no clue, as *el que asi* and *quien asi* are metrically equivalent.

562 b :

nin deue ser alegre *el que* tanto ha de temer
quien

The meter gives no clue to the correct reading since *alegre el que* and *alegre quien* are metrically equivalent.

1. Quoted in § 62 A, b.

608 d :

el que non le amase que le pueda temer
e quien amara

Again *el que* and *e quien* are metrically equivalent.

1269 a :

Otrosi es neçesario *al que* ha de gouernar
a quien

Here the meter calls for the N-reading.

In these eleven examples (all that occur), no particular principle of selection seems to operate. Sometimes N has *quien* where E has *el que*; sometimes the reverse is the case. Sometimes *quien* is the preferable reading, sometimes either *quien* or *el que* is admissible. It will be noticed, however, that in no case is the relative part of the formula other than subject. This statement will be discussed later¹.

c. *Aquel que* and *el que* are interchanged.

131 d :

ca mucho es menester *a aquel que* es lazdrado
 ca mucho le es menester *al que* es lazdrado

The N-reading is demanded by the meter.

387 c :

Aquel que tu nunca vesitas cuento lo por enemigo
Al que tu nunca vesitas tengo lo por enemigo

The meter demands the E-reading.

391 d :

aquel que tu vesitas no lo pones en oluido
al que tu, etc.

Aquel que = *a aquel que*. N has the better reading.

394 a :

al que en este mundo el bien nunca le fal
aquel que en, etc.

1. Cf. § 59.

Aquel que = *a aquel que*. *Al que en* and *a aquel que en* are metrically equivalent.

1474 a :

ca de *aquel que* benignamente a todos nos crió
e del *que* benigna, etc.

Read : *Del que* benignamente, etc.

Again, it is evident, as in the case of *quien* and *el que*, that some scribe or scribes, easily substituted one formula for the other and that sometimes *aquel que* is the preferable reading, sometimes *el que*, sometimes either is admissible.

Note. Gessner states : « In der Formel, derjenige welcher wird das Determinativ wie heute so auch altspan. vorzugsweise durch *el*, *aquel* ausgedrückt; doch übernimmt nicht selten auch *este*, *aqueste*, *ese* diese Funktion¹. This is not true for the *Rimado* in which *aquel* and *el* are the only determinative demonstratives used in this formula.

EL QUE

§ 18. The expression *el que* may be used with three meanings.

1. *El que* is a relative pronoun pure and simple, and does not include the antecedent within itself. *El* is the definitive article and *el que* is equivalent to *el cual*².

151 d :

ca los çinco sentidos non deuo yo olvidar,
los que por muchas vezes me fizieron pecar.

936 c :

e la mi grant flaqueza con la qual yo nasci,
la *que*
sy la tu acusas e ¿ qué será de mi ?
ay

I shall call this use of *el que*, adjective *el que*.

1. Gessner, p. 467, bottom. Cf. also p. 468 top for examples.

2. Cf. Gessner, p. 456.

§ 20. THE NATURE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

When adjective *el que* is the subject of its clause, the antecedent may be a person (1277 b¹, 1348 b¹), or a thing (151 d¹, 549 c¹). No instances occur of adjective *el que* in the accusative. Twice adjective *el que* is found as the object of a preposition and in both cases the antecedent is a thing (936 c², 612^x d³).

§ 21. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

The only thing noteworthy is the fact that the antecedent affects the gender and number of *el que*, and this is so simple a phenomenon that it need not be dwelt upon. For examples see § 23, A and § 23, C.

§ 22. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

All the clauses are explanatory, except in 612^x d⁴.

§ 23. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Adjective el que is the subject of its clause.*

Four cases.

151 d⁵.

549 c (Cast from you the « poison » of worldly desires):

Si tal venino tirares, tu alma folgará
 tiras
 por cobrar noble gloria sienpre deseará
 gloria que sienpre durará
la que nunca fallestió nin nunca fallestirá
 lo que fallestçe
 e por poco seruiçio mucho bien cobrará.

1. Quoted in § 23, A.

2. Quoted in § 18, 1.

3. Quoted in § 23, b.

4. Quoted in § 23, C.

5. Quoted in § 18, 1.

I read :

Si tal venino tiras, tu alma folgará
 por cobrar noble gloria, que sienpre durará,
la que nunca fallesçe, nin nunca fallesç(e)rá,
 e por poco seruicio mucho bien cobrará.

1277b (God often seems to favor the wicked, but the end comes suddenly) :

E despues supita mente el tal malo es judgado,
el que por luengo tienpo de Dios fuera esperado;
 e así qual quier bien piense que Dios non es oluidado.
 non ha

Here, *los que* = *los* [perigros] *que*.

301^x b :

las cosas que pasaron, cierto es que ya non son
los que son por venir

Here *las que* = *las* [cosas] *que*.

I shall call this use of *el que*, compound *el que*.

Note. Of the uses above enumerated, substantive *el que* can be in some cases replaced by *quien*¹. Adjective *el que* is felt as one word, just as *el cual* is so felt. Compound *el que* is, then, the only combination of *el* and *que* which can not be replaced by one word, or is not felt as one word. But in view of the fact that compound *el que* constitutes only a small part of the number of times that *el que* occurs, I have thought it best for the sake of convenient reference, not to detach it from the other cases of *el que*.

1348 b :

Benino e graçioso mucho fuera tenido
 asaz
 santo Samuel perfecto vnguido
 profecta *el que* ovo venido
 el rrey Saul el qual despues fuera aborrido
 al

Read for line *b* :

1. Cf. examples given under § 17, a, b; also introductory remarks to substantive *el que* (§ 24); also Wiggers, p. 96, 11a.

Santo Samuel profecta, *el que* ovo vnguido.

In the examples just given, the following is to be noted. In 151 d the meter would not have permitted *los cuales*, or the simple *que*. For 1277 b, it will be noticed that in the following line *QUAL quiera* is used, and, for 1348 b, that *el qual* is used in the following line. In both cases, by the use of *el que*, repetition of sound is avoided, which would have occurred if *el cual* had been used. Moreover, for metrical reasons, the simple *que* was impossible. In 549 c, I see no special reason for the use of *la que*, unless it be that given by Gessner for the use of adjective *el que* generally : « Gern steht *el que*, wenn der Satz an einen vorhergehenden Relativsatz geschlossen werden soll ¹. »

B. *Adjective el que is an accusative.*

No instances.

C. *Adjective el que is the object of a preposition.*

Two examples.

936 c ².

The different readings of the two Mss. make this example a doubtful one.

612^x d :

El esperar del justo atiende el Señor
e por la su bondat que tirase el dolor
del humanal linaje, e aquel grant error
del que por la su culpa fuere merescedor.

Note, to adjective *el que*. — There are two examples of *el que*, which seem to belong under adjective *el que*, but probably do not belong there.

75 d (The evils of avarice are described) :

1. Gessner, p. 457.

2. Quoted in § 18, 1,

por esta fue de muerte al cabo meresçedor,
nabon (read : Acab)

el que tomara su viña al pobre seruidor.
que

The meter of line *d* does not permit *el que*. I read :

que tomara su viña al pobre seruidor.

1501 c (A man must forsake worldly goods):

Ca en quanto desanpara desta vida presente
 los bienes temporales, muy mas rrezio se siente
 para cobrar los bienes de *los que* les absente
 de los *quales* es avsente

estaua, non alcançando commo era meresçiente
estandonon alcançaria commo

Although the last line is not clear, it is quite probable that the third line should read :

para cobrar los bienes de los quales absente

SUBSTANTIVE *EL QUE*

(*El que* is equivalent to a substantive relative.)

§ 24. Wiggers classifies this use of *el que* under the substantive relative ¹ and with some show of reason, for *el que* is frequently interchangeable with substantive *quien*, though not always ². Wiggers says : « *quien*, Plural *quienes*, vereinigt in sich die Begriffe welche in *el que* durch zwei Wörter ausgedrückt werden ³ ». Bello states : « En lugar de las expresiones *el que. la que, los que, las que*, ya forman dos palabras ó una sola, empleamos muchas veces el sustantivo *quien, quienes* cuando el relativo se refiere á persona ó cosa personificada ⁴ ».

1. Wiggers, p. 96, 11.

2. The conditions under which *quien* and *el que* are interchangeable are discussed in the introductory remarks to substantive *quien* (§ 59).

3. Wiggers, p. 96, II.

4. B.-C., p. 90. By *el que* forming two words, Bello means substantive *el que*; by *el que* used as one word, adjective *el que*. His statement is not strictly accurate, for while it is true that *quien* may be used for adjective *el que*, it is not the substantive *quien*, but the adjective *quien*.

§ 27. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

The clauses are all restrictive. The arguments by which it has been shown that the clauses of substantive relatives are restrictive¹, apply to the clauses introduced by substantive *el que*.

Note. Under substantive *quien* (§ 61, b) are treated the so-called *si quis*-clauses, and it is there explained why this set of clauses is discussed under substantive *quien* and under no other relative pronoun. There are, however, two instances of substantive *el que*-clauses which might be taken for *si quis*-clauses. If they were such, a separate division would have been made for them under this head, just as a separate division is made for *si quis*-clauses under substantive *quien* (§ 61, b). But since it will be seen that the two substantive *el que*-clauses referred to are not *si quis*-clauses, they are treated in this note. The two instances are :

913a (Elifaz's vision as described in the fourth chapter of Job is set forth). To make clear the connection between stanza 913 and what goes before,¹ I give first, stanza 912; *le* in the first line refers to God.

912. Cata que los que le siruen, maguera çelestiales
pecaron e erraron, queriendo ser eguales ;
e de los sus altos çielos en penas infernales
cayeron ado yazen, sufriendo muchos males.

913. Pues *el que* los sus angeles falló desconosçidos
errados e soberuios e en grant maldat caydos,
¿ qué cuydas que farán los pobres doloridos
que moran en las casas de lodo aborridos ?
morran

The only difference between the two Mss. is that indicated in line d of stanza 913. *Morran* is evidently a mistake for *moran*. As the sentence now stands, the clause beginning with *el que* has no syntactical relation with the rest of the sentence. Moreover, if we should interpret the clause as a *si-quis*-clause, the sentence would be meaningless. And yet the meaning intended is clear enough. If God found his angels wanting, what can be expected of mortals ? I therefore propose for line a :

Pues que Él los sus angeles falló desconosçidos.

The other example referred to above is in 643^a a :

1. Cf. § 8, 2.

*El que faze mal e se enbuelue en el pecado,
es poner pies en rred e nunca es enojado
nin dello nupca se farta nin querria ser tirado ;
las mantas de la rred lo tienen muy trauado.*

Here, the *el que*-clause has no syntactical connection with the first verb of line *b*, but it is syntactically connected with the second verb of line *b* and with *farta* and *querria* of line *c*. Such a construction seems entirely improbable.

I propose to read :

Pues *el que* faze mal, se enbuelue en pecado,
pone sus pies en rred, etc.

§ 28. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *The que of el que is the subject of its clause.*

This construction is so simple that it is unnecessary to quote examples (See 31 b, 47 d, 121 a). The number of such instances in the *Rimado* is 202.

B. *The que of el que is an accusative.*

Here, too, quotation is unnecessary on account of the simplicity of the construction. There are 12 instances in all. These are 137 a, 387 c¹, 388 a, 391 d¹, 736 a, 803 e, 1202 c, 1323 a, 1587 a, 451^x d, 703^x c, 705^x b. It will be noticed that there is a very great difference between the number of examples coming under this head and those coming under A, immediately preceding. Inasmuch as the *que* in substantive *el que* always refers to a personal antecedent, this difference in favor of subject *que* is not hard to explain, since persons are much more likely to be active than passive agents. Cf. a similar condition under adjective *que*².

1. Quoted in § 17, c.

2. V. § 11, B, b.

a. Zeugmatic construction ¹. The *que* of *el que* serves as the object of one verb and as the subject of another. One instance.

736a (The poet is addressing the Virgin) :

Bendito es *el que* ayudas e en ti tiene sperança.

C. *When que of el que is the object of a preposition.*

The extent to which substantive *el que* is felt as one word, besides its equivalence to substantive *quien* ² is illustrated by the rule, which holds for the language generally, that no preposition may be placed between the *el* and the *que*. If the *el* and the *que* both depend on the same preposition, the preposition is used with the antecedent only, which is the construction commonly used with *que*, no matter what the antecedent may be ³. If, however, the antecedent and the relative in substantive *el que* are dependent upon different prepositions, or if the antecedent is not dependent on a preposition and the relative is so dependent, *el* is usually replaced by *aquel* and the relative by *quien* ⁴. This, too, is one of the differences between substantive *el que* and compound *el que* ; for, with compound *el que* a preposition may intervene between the *el* and the *que*, as appears from the following sentence : « Este potro es el de *que* le he hablado á V ⁵. »

From the above, it is evident that the *el* and the *que* of substantive *el que* are never separated and that *que* can be the object only of a preposition placed before the antecedent *el*. In the *Rimado* there are two instances.

1. For other zeugmatic constructions, cf. § 14, A, b, and § 14, B, a.

2. Cf. § 24.

3. Cf. § 14, C, a.

4. Cf. Wiggers, pp. 97-8. — Ramsey, p. 239.

5. Taken from Ramsey, p. 238.

394 a ¹.

1123 b :

Dize aqui sant Gregorio que en esto non ha dudaça :
al que en este mucho (mundo) cresce mucho la buen andaça
 que los omnes sospechen que muy ayna alcança
 enojos e pesares, tristura e tribulaça.

The following constructions belong here :

a. Zeugmatic construction ². The *que* serves as the object of a preposition and likewise as the subject of a verb. One instance : 394 a ³. The *que* of *al que* is the object of the preposition, as was shown immediately above, and the prepositional phrase to which it belongs is to be construed with *al*, in line *a*, and with *entropieça*, in line *b*; but at the same time the *que* is the subject of *siente* in line *b*.

b. The *que* is the object of a preposition and attraction of the antecedent takes place.

It is a rule of Spanish grammar with the adjective relative *que*, that when the antecedent of *que* is not the object of a preposition and the relative pronoun *que* is the object of one, the preposition may be placed before the antecedent and be omitted before the relative. For examples see Bello ⁴, Cuervo ⁵, and Gessner ⁶. I quote the well known example given by Bello : « Bien me decia a mí mi corazon del pie *que* cojeaba mi señor ⁷ ». This construction is totally lacking in the *Rimado*, except in the case of substantive *el que*. One instance.

1. Quoted in § 17, c.

2. For other zeugmatic constructions, cf. § 14, A, b ; § 14, B, a : § 28, B, a.

3. Quoted in § 17, c.

4. B.-C., pp. 213, 310.

5. B.-C., Note 138.

6. Gessner, pp. 483-5.

7. B.-C., p. 310.

1123 b¹.

The antecedent of *que* is the subject of *alcança* in line *c*, yet the preposition is placed before this antecedent.

D. *The que of substantive el que is a relative adverb.*

One case.

964 c (Hypocrites love company):

e a *los que* veen a ellos sus maneras pareçer
aquellos quieren e aman e loan su entender.

The *que* is here equivalent to a possessive genitive, or rather adjective, *cuyo*. *Ellos* is used in a loose way for *a sus maneras*, and the whole sentence in Modern Spanish would be: Y á aquellos cuyas maneras ven parecer á las suyas los quieren, etc.

COMPOUND *EL QUE*²

(*El* is a demonstrative pronoun referring to a specific antecedent already mentioned).

§ 29. Compound *el que* occurs 8 times in the *Rimado* and the antecedent is always a thing (For example see § 30). This is remarkable, since there is no good reason why this construction should not occur with a personal antecedent. Concerning the influence of the antecedent on *que* there is nothing noteworthy to be said.

The clauses are all restrictive. This is in the nature of the case, since a clause introduced by compound *el que* is always used to distinguish an entity from another entity of the same class. Any example under § 30 will illustrate this statement.

1. Quoted immediately before a above.

2. Cf. § 18, 3.

§ 30. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *The que of compound el que is the subject of its clause.*

There are six instances in the *Rimado*.

1263 b :

Entre muchas virtudes que este justo auia
la que era mayor.....
 era la paçiençia.....

The other instances are 644 d¹, 1131 b, 1213 b, 299* d, 301* b¹.

B. *The que of compound el que is an accusative.*

Two instances.

1214 c (*Bienes* = good deeds) :

E nos sienpre deuemos mucho considerar
 quantos fueron los bienes que dexamos de obrar,
 que non *los que* fazemos.....

1293 c (The poet has just asked a question and says) :

non es aqui otra rrespuesta saluo *la que* Heliu quiso dar :
 la qual quiso dar :
 que Dios su rostro esconde ninguno non lo puede catar.
 e sy Dios su rostro esconde non ay quien lo pueda catar.

Whatever may be decided about the meter here, it is clear that, as far as the relative pronoun is concerned, *la que* is the correct reading, since *la qual* makes no sense, and *la que* does make sense.

AQUEL QUE

§ 31. *Aquel que* is used in the *Rimado* only with the force of substantive *el que* (never with the force of compound *el que*).

1. Quoted in § 18,

The equation, *aquel que* = *el que* is not perfect, for the language in general, because *aquel que* is always slightly more emphatic than *el que*¹. Still, in § 17, c, we have seen that the difference is often so slight that it does not prevent the scribes from interchanging *el que* and *aquel que*.

From a metrical point of view there is an important difference between *aquel que* and *el que*: *el que* is never, in the *Rimado*, divided into two parts by a cesura; *aquel que* sometimes is so divided. Examples for *aquel que* are:

911a².

1037 b :

Avn dezia Sofar : yo veo aqui al ;
que la casa de *aquel* | *que* sienpre vsa mal
abonda de rriquezas.

1443 b :

. esta tal rrogatiua
se entiende por *aquellos* | *que* erraron por la via
de bien biuir.

It is of interest to note that in N the cesura is indicated for these verses, as it is for all verses.

In one instance, the *aquel* is at the end of a verse and *que* at the beginning of the next verse.

628d :

En lago de leones estaua Daniel
.
. e accorió le *aquel*
que acorre en las cuytas a su sieruo fiel.

But this separation of *aquel* and *que* goes still farther, and in cases where metrical considerations do not enter at all. This is true not only for the *Rimado*, but for the language generally³.

1. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, I, p. 591², bottom.

2. Quoted in § 33, B.

3. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, I, p. 592¹.

It will be noticed, however, that a preposition never comes between *aquel* and *que*, or rather that in such cases the *que* is replaced by *quien*¹. The instances in which other words intervene between *aquel* and *que* in the *Rimado* are :

1203 a :

Aquel es justo e bueno *que* cata piedat

1328 a :

Aquel paresçe a Dios *que* quando es mayoral
vsa bien e syn soberuia e non cata mal por mal.

Note. The combination *todo aquel que*, masculine or feminine, singular of plural, does not occur in our poem.

§ 32. The antecedent in always personal². In two instances it is repeated by means of a personal pronoun within the relative clause. One of these cases occurs in 387 b³, in which the *que* is an accusative. The other instance occurs in 394 a⁴ where the *que* is the object of a preposition.

The clause is always restrictive. What was said under substantive *el que* on the nature of the clause⁵, applies *mutatis mutandis*, to the clauses with *aquel que*.

§ 33. — THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *The que of aquel que is the subject of its clause.*

Examples : 150 b, 289 b, 401 b. There are 50 of these instances in the *Rimado*.

B. *The que of aquel que is an accusative.*

There are 5 instances in the *Rimado*.

1. Cf. § 28, C, and, § 55, a.

2. Cf. § 25.

3. Quoted in § 33, B.

4. Quoted in § 26, C.

5. Cf. § 27.

387 b :

Commo muy justo juez enbias el tu castigo
sobre *aquel que* tu mas amas e le tienes por amigo.

387 c :

aquel que tu nunca vesitas cuento lo por enemigo
al que tengo

Of the two readings, E is the better; but N could be easily emended by dropping *tu*.

391 d¹.

911 a :

Fabló me luego *aquel que* yo non conoscoy

276* b :

Despues syn mas mandamiento dizes que fuera asy
en el cuerpo de *aquel que* agora alegaste aqui.

I have been unable to unravel the meaning of these lines, or to understand the context in which they are placed.

Concerning the disparity of number between those instances in which the *que* of *aquel que* is a subject and those in which it is an accusative, cf. § 28, B.

C. *The que of aquel que is the object of a preposition.*

As in the case of substantive *el que* the *el* and the *que* were not separated by a preposition², so also in *aquel que* the two parts, though they are sometimes separated, are never separated by a preposition³. If, then, the *que* of *aquel que* is to be the object of a preposition, such preposition must come before *aquel*. One instance occurs in the *Rimado*.

394 a⁴ :

a. Zeugmatic construction. Cf. § 28, C, a.

1. Quoted in § 17, c.

2. Cf. § 28, C.

3. Cf. § 31.

4. Cf. § 17, c.

Note to *Aquel que*. Upon examination it was found that the following two instances of *aquel que* are to be eliminated : 1474 a³, 1511 c.

LO QUE

§ 34. The words *lo que* may be used in Spanish with one of two meanings :

1. *Lo que* is used in the sense of *which, which thing*, referring to a clausal antecedent, or an idea, and is equivalent in meaning to *lo cual*.

85 d (The vice of *luxuria* is discussed) :

.....a todos es igual
en dar les perdimiento, por *lo que* çedo fal.

i. e. on which account it quickly palls.

1116 b :

Sofar esto dezia a Job por lo acusar
que era ypocrita, *lo que* el fuera mostrar
mostrando se por justo.....

i. e. which thing he proved by showing that he himself was righteous.

I shall call this use of *lo que*, adjective *lo que*. It is the neuter corresponding to adjective *el que*.

2. *Lo que* is used in the sense of *the thing which, that which, what*.

100 c (The vice of gluttony is discussed) :

por este Adam de parayso fue echado,
por esto fue Adan del parayso echado
por que quiso comer *lo que* le era vedado.

114 d :

ca pierden *lo que* jamas nuncan podrán cobrar.

Read : . . . *lo que* nunca jamas, etc.

I shall call this use of *lo que*, substantive *lo que*. It is the neuter corresponding to substantive *el que*.

ADJECTIVE *LO QUE*

§ 35. — When *lo que* is used in Modern Spanish as an adjective relative, it may refer either to a single word taken in a neuter sense, as in « Aquella pena no fue justa-*lo que* quiere decir necesaria¹ », or it may refer to a clause. It is used in the *Rimado* only with the latter construction. There are three examples.

85 d¹.

1116 b².

1288 c (Sometimes a man thinks that the sin he has committed is unpardonable and so...):

..... por ende dize
yaze
muy grant desesperança de lo qual a Dios non plaze
en muy grant desesperança de *lo que* a Dios non plaze

Read (It must be remembered that the poet is upbraiding that « great pride » which does not see that God is merciful):

.....por ende yaze
en grant desesperança lo qual a Dios non plaze
lo que

Both readings are equally good.

§ 36. A few remarks on adjective *lo que* will suffice.

The antecedent is always a clause, and its influence on the relative offers nothing worthy of note. The clauses in which this *lo que* occurs are explanatory. In one of these, *lo que* is a subject: 1288 c³; in another, it is an accusative: 1116 b⁴; in the third example, it is the object of the preposition *por*: 85 d⁴. All the instances in the *Rimado* are thus accounted for.

1. Wiggers, p. 95.

2. Quoted in § 34, 1.

3. Quoted in § 35.

4. Quoted in § 34, 1.

SUBSTANTIVE *LO QUE*

§ 37. Wiggers classifies this use of *lo que* under the substantive relative¹. Substantive *lo que* corresponds in meaning to substantive *el que*, except that with substantive *el que* the antecedent refers to persons, while with substantive *lo que* it is neuter.

Note. The combination *todo lo que* occurs 8 times.

436 b (The *lo* in line *a* refers to something in the previous stanza) :

..... yo lo dare de grado
todo lo que ouiere, e mas de lo mandado.

461 b :

..... amigo cierto seredes
 que en *todo lo que* vos cunple en mi amigo terñedes.

The other instances are : 1067 d, 1084 d, 1085 b, 1121 b, 1295 a, 274^x b.

§ 38. It is evident that the antecedent always refers to a thing. The influence of the antecedent offers nothing of interest. The clause is always restrictive. The arguments which were used for substantive *el que* clauses² apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to substantive *lo que* clauses.

§ 39. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *The que of lo que is the subject of its clause.*

Examples : 100 c³, 112 d, 264 b. There are 18 instances in all.

B. *The que of lo que is an accusative.*

Examples 72b, 125b, 158a. This construction occurs 98 times. From A we learn that the *que* of *lo que* is the subject of its clause 18 times. This disparity of numbers in favor of the accusative is to be expected, since things are most likely to be passive agents.

1. Wiggers, p. 98.

2. Cf. § 27.

3. Quoted in § 34, 2.

C. *The que of lo que is the object of a preposition.*

Just as the two parts of substantive *el que* can not be separated by a preposition¹, so those of substantive *lo que* can not be separated by a preposition. If the neuter antecedent is in the nominative case and the relative depends on a preposition, or if the antecedent and the relative depend on different prepositions, the construction *aquello* + *preposition* + *que* is used². If the neuter antecedent is accusative and the relative is the object of a preposition, then the preposition is placed before the whole expression *lo que*³. Those rules hold also for the *Rimado*. The following examples are all that occur for *lo que*. In all of them, the preposition used is *en*.

164 b :

Señor mio..... non puedo contar
a ti mas por menudo en *lo que* fuy pecar.

368^x b (The subject of *dexa* and *desanpara* is Dios) :

E muchas veces dexa el omne e desanpara,
por que mejor conosca en *la que* el errara.

428^x c :

Esripto es que en dos maneras delante Dios estamos :
vna, quando nuestros yerros llorando esaminamos,
trando (traendo) a memoria en *lo que* estropeçamos.

D. *Lo que is used adverbially.*

a. *Lo que* is used in the sense of *to the extent that, the extent to which, how much*⁴.

Cuervo has shown that this use of *lo que* goes back originally to the indirect question : just as the interrogative pronoun *cuanto*

1. Cf. § 28, C.

2. Cf. Wiggers, p. 98.

3. Cf. *Ibid.* — Marden, p. XLV.

4. Cf. B.-C., p. 260.

may be replaced by *lo que* in an indirect question, so by analogy the interrogative adverb *cuanto* may be replaced by *lo que*¹. In the *Rimado* the following instances occur :

1564 d (God alone can judge whether we need chastisement or not) :

Ca seria grant soberuia
reconocer
 si somos así culpados que merescamos auer
 quien nos pene e atormente *lo que* fuemos mereçer.

307^x c :

Señor mio, tu atienpra mis llagas e ferida,
 por que pueda llorar con muy justa medida
 e estimar *lo que* sufro, ca fize yo tal vida
 ca (que) con rrazon lo paso, quando lo bien comida.

434^x b :

Este trauajo al justo tiene sienpre ymaginado,
 que buscando en sy mismo falle *lo que* a errado.

b. *Lo que* is used to introduce a clause of comparison.

In Modern Spanish it is customary to say : « Volvió el Presidente á la ciudad menos temprano *de lo que* se esperaba, » although « más temprano *que lo que* is permissible² ». This construction *de lo que* is mentioned, but not explained, by Bello³, Meyer-Lübke⁴, Wiggers⁵, while Diez⁶ calls attention to the similarity between this construction and such expressions as « se olvida *de que* nació libre. »

I subjoin all the examples that occur in the *Rimado*. I begin with two sentences that do not contain the comparative construction but serve as a starting point.

1. Cf. B.-C., Notas, pp. 126-128.

2. B.-C., p. 269, bottom, and p. 270, top.

3. B.-C., p. 269 bottom, and p. 270, top.

4. G. L. R., III, p. 685.

5. Wiggers, p. 49.

6. Rom. Gram., III, p. 397.

1472 d :

todas estas cosas nuestro Señor ordenó.

.....

por que el pobre omne que el formara e crió

allende non pasase de lo que él mandó.

The transition from this sentence to the following one, in which we approach the comparative construction, is easy.

279 b :

Mucho so marauillado qual mundo lo defiende

qual Dios

quien a su señor aconseja al de *lo que* se le entiende.

This *al de lo que* is like the following French sentence quoted by Mätzner : *Il a raconté l'affaire différemment de ce qu'elle s'est passée*¹.

The step from *al de lo que* etc., to the next sentence is not difficult, if we notice that *lo que* still preserves its substantive character, and if we remember that in the older Spanish *de* was frequently used in the sense of *than*, after comparative adjectives, and is still so used in Modern Spanish literary style ².

409 d :

ca Dios nos acorrerá en lo que le rrogaremos

o nos dará mejor de *lo que* nos pediremos.

e

In the remaining examples, the substantive character of *lo que* is less perceptible. However, compare these sentences with the colloquial English « He is richer than *what* you think he is », and it will become apparent that *lo que* in these sentences is still the substantive *lo que*.

647 d (A man is considering whether a ladder [*escala*] will serve his purpose) :

1. Mätzner, *Syntax*, II, p. 217.

2. Cf. the numerous examples cited by Diez, *Rom. Grant.*, III³, p. 398, and the explanation offered on p. 399.

.....en sy consyderó
 sy alcançaua al muro por do sobir cuydó,
 o si era mas alta de *lo que* el cobdiçió.

947 b :

El su amigo a Job esto le aponia
 que fablara muy mucho mas de *lo que* deuia.

1539 d (Let a man not go to excess even in good things) :

otrosi en buenos deseos con grant saber sobejano
 mucho mas de *lo que* cunple non se ençienda tan en vano.

517^x c :

e peor de *lo que* quieren su obra van a acabar.

Notes to Adjective *Lo que* and Substantive *Lo que*.

1. In the following cases, one Ms. or both Mss. have *lo que*, but for reasons which seemed conclusive in each case, I have changed the reading, or adopted the reading which did not have *lo que* : 181 b, 454 c, 549 c¹, 665 c, 1295 b, 1414 c.

2. In the following cases I am unable, for the present, to unravel the meaning : 376 b, 1167 b, 1601 b, 442^x c.

AQUELLO QUE

§ 40. The chief differences between *aquello que* and *lo que* are that *aquello que* is somewhat more emphatic than *lo que*², and that *aquello que* may be divided by a preposition, while *lo que* may not³.

§ 41. The antecedent is, of course, always neuter, and the relative clause is always restrictive. Concerning the influence of the antecedent there is nothing of interest.

The syntax of the relative, too, offers little of note. There is no instance in the *Rimado* where the *que* of *aquello que* is the subject of its clause. In two instances the *que* is an accusative :

1. Discussed in § 23, A.

2. Cf. § 31.

3. Cf. § 39, C.

834 a, 1537 c. In one instance the *que* is the object of a preposition. Wiggers, under *lo que* says : « Hängt der relative Bestandteil von einer Präposition ab, so wird *lo*, wenn es Subject ist, durch *aquello* ersetzt ¹. » This rule holds in the one example of the *Rimado*.

1223 c :

Preguntado fue Adam.

 por que se conosçiese *aquello en que* erró
 e ouiese perdon.

CUAL

§ 42. *Cual*, without the article, concerns us only in so far as it is used as a relative pronoun, not as a relative adjective. According to Bello, and according to Cuervo, this *cual* is used with the force of *que* ² and with that of *el cual* ³. In all the cases quoted by both of these writers, in which *cual* is used in the sense of *el cual*, *cual* follows a preposition. Their statement that *cual* is used in the sense of *que* means that *cual* is used as a relative pronoun, and as *que* is the commonest of the relatives, it is selected as the type. With prepositions the case is different, since there are some prepositions after which *que* is not generally used. I shall, therefore, make no distinction, in the treatment below, between *cual* used with the force of *que* and *cual* used with the force of *el cual*, except to keep the instances in which *cual* is used after a preposition separate from the others, as I have done in discussing the other relative pronouns.

In the *Rimado* there are 11 cases in which *cual* is used as a relative pronoun. They are ; 7c, 63 d, 194 b, 603a, **603 d**, 758 d, 802 h, 824^ae, 942 b, 1431 b, 601^xc. All of these will be found quoted in § 45.

1. Wiggers, p. 98.

2. B.-C., p. 95, and Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 611 ¹.

3. B.-C., p. 95, and Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 621 ¹.

§ 43. The antecedent is always a thing, except in 194 b¹, where it is a person. The form of *cual* (for number) is, of course determined by the antecedent. Cf. the examples in § 45.

§ 44. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

A. *When cual is the subject of its clause.*

The clause is always explanatory. For examples, see § 45, A

B. *When cual is an accusative.*

The clause is always explanatory. Examples in § 45, B.

C. *When cual is the object of a preposition.*

There are two instances, and in both of them the clause is restrictive. See § 45, C.

§ 45. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Cual is the subject of its clause.*

There are three instances.

802 h :

ca veynte de çisma son años pasados,
qnales nunca fueron peores nin tales.

824^a e (The poet laments the negligence of the priests) :

cruzes e caliçes e los corporales
están ya sangrientos con manzilas tales,
e con desonrra *qual* nunca fue tanta.

1. Quoted under § 45, B.

Dezia despues Job los mis dias pasaron
e los mis pensamientos mucho se desgastaron ;
quales mi coraçon asaz atormentaron
e de noche e de dia sienpre a mi tornaron .

There are six instances.

Otros pequ en los siete mortales pecados

 que son dichos mortales por su nonbre llamados,
quales yo aqui diré, ca los he bien vsados.
quales aqui, etc.

Otros dos primero ouieron el logar
de aquesta vicaria, *quales* podré nonbrar,
yré
Lino e Cleto.....

las tres de muy lonje tierra las entenderás,
luengas tierras
las seis son en el rreño, *quales* aqui sabrás
segund aqui verás.

.....e torné a otra rrazon cuydar
torné otra sazón a cuydar
de lo quel santo Job dezía por nos conortar,
sus palabras virtuosas, *quales* yo podré contar.

Segunt que fallo e veo, quatro son en el falar
maneras espeçiales, que les quiero contar
quales

6

Despues que lazramos en este mundo mortal,
Despues aqui lazdramos, etc.
qual veemos, mal pecado, lleno de mucho mal.

C. Cual is the object of a preposition.

There are two instances. In the first one (7 c), we have a case of an antecedent and a relative, both the object of the same preposition. The preposition is omitted before the relative pronoun. This we have found to be the regular usage with *que*¹, but with *cual* I have not seen it mentioned.

faré yo mi comision (confision) en la manera *qual*
mejor se me entendier, si Dios aqui me val.

Nueve cosas yo fallo con las cuales tu verás
con *quales* tu verás
el grant poder del rrey.....

The E-reading is the better for metrical reasons. We might read :

.....con las quales verás,

but since both Mss. have *tu verás*, it is better to adopt the E-reading, which needs no metrical emendation.

EL CUAL

§ 46. Wiggers², Bello³, and Gessner⁴ discuss the use of *el cual*. But the latest and best authority on this pronoun is Cuervo's dictionary, which covers the field more exhaustively than any

1. Cf. § 14, C, a.

2. Wiggers, pp. 90-91.

3. B.-C., pp. 285-289.

4. Gessner, pp. 453-456, pp. 468-470, pp. 472-473, and pp. 478-479.

previous work. On the use of *el cual*, Cuervo sums up thus (the numbers in parenthesis are my own, and are put in for the sake of convenient reference): « De lo dicho sobre el empleo de *el cual* aparece (1) que en lo antiguo era este relativo de uso mucho más frecuente que hoy. En general puede decirse que sólo lo empleamos: (2) en frases especificativas después de preposiciones disílabas, de *por*, *sin*, *tras* y después de complementos¹; (3) en frases explicativas, cuando estas son largas y caen al fin del período; (4) en los casos en que la pronunciación o la claridad lo exigen, y (5) finalmente cuando se repite el antecedente juntándose con el relativo². »

(1) In regard to the frequency of *el cual* in the *Rimado* it will be seen, by summing up the examples mentioned in § 50, that it occurs 31 times; or, counting in the doubtful cases, 34 times. Comparing with other relative pronouns of like character, we find that, in the *Rimado*, adjective relative *que* occurs (counting in *que* of substantive *el que*, compound *el que*, *aquel que*, *aquello que* and substantive *lo que*) 1276 times; adjective *el que* 6 times; adjective *lo que* 3 times, and adjective *quien* 28 times. It seems improbable that in the Spanish of to-day the proportion of *el cual* to the other corresponding pronouns should be so overwhelmingly against *el cual*. It is possible that Cuervo is merely comparing Modern Spanish with that of the classical age, and it is possible that with Spanish *el cual* the same conditions obtain as with French *lequel*, concerning which Gessner points out that in the oldest period it is rare, later becomes extremely common and to day is less common again³. Should this turn out to be the case for *el cual*, Cuervo's statement would still be correct, for by *lo antiguo* Cuervo usually means the classical period.

1. Adverbial expressions involving a preposition, e. g. *debajo de*, *al cabo de*, *por medio de*.

2. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 616².

3. Gessner, *Zur Lehre vom französischen Pronomen*, Theil II, pp. 5-6.

(2) This statement ¹ will be found discussed in § 49, where it belongs.

(3) This statement ¹ will likewise be found discussed in § 49.

(4) This statement ¹ holds for the *Rimado* as one might expect.

The discussion falls into two parts :

(a) *El cual* si demanded by considerations of accent, i. e. it comes at the end of a phrase before a pause, and hence bears the tonic accent, which *que* rarely carries. There are two instances.

1476 b :

Ca es alto Señor qual non se puede dezir,
a la yra *del qual* ninguno rresystir
non puede.....

557^x b :

Açerca del enemigo Dios me ovo ençerrado,
a las manos *del qual* me entergo atormentado.

(b) *El cual* is demanded by clearness, i. e. between the antecedent and *el cual* a word intervenes to which *que* might have referred, but to which *el cual* does not refer, so that the true antecedent is beyond doubt. Eight instances.

563^x c :

Querria esto dezir, que sy nos cobdiçiamos
los gozos perdurables, conviene que sufram
penas en este mundo con *las quales* nos (omit : nos) purgamos
nuestros fallesçimientos en que aqui erramos.

If *que* had been used instead of *las quales*, it might have referred to *mundo*, while *las quales* can refer only to *penas*.

The other examples are : 653 b, 673 d², 847 d, 870 d³, 1510 d⁴, 343^x c, 545^x c⁵.

1. See introductory remarks to this §.

2. Quoted in § 47, B, b.

3. Quoted in § 47, B, b.

4. Quoted in § 47, A, a.

5. Quoted in § 47, C, b.

5. For his statement¹ there is only one example in the *Rimado*.

1266 c :

Què cosa es el omne si es puesto en oluido
de aquel Señor muy alto e non es defendido?

el cual

defendimiento, si sienpre es auido,
por menos nescesario de nos será tenido.

§ 47. — THE NATURE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

A. *When el cual is the subject of its clause.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person, or personified object.

1510 d :

mas la misericordia de Dios ymos buscar,
la qual acorre a todos, si la sabemos guardar.

The other examples are : 635 b, 999 c, 1348 c, 1355 b, 1554 b.

b. A thing.

There are four examples in the *Rimado*.

1547 d :

.....mas despues llega ordenada
aquella justa sentencia, *la qual* non es apellada.

The other instances are : 275^x c, 498^x d, 684^x b.

B. *When el cual is an accusative.*

The antecedent is :

a. A person or personified object.

Three instances.

847 d².

1. See introductory remarks to this §.

2. Quoted under § 58 C, *en*.

846 c (*ymagen* refers to an image of the Virgin) :

Despues de todo esto non me fue oluidado
de vna ymagen suya a quien fue acomendado,
fuy
a *la qual* muy deuoto conpuse este deytado.

1272 d (Him who judges others, God will judge some day) :

.....tiempo verrná que paur
aurá de ver a otro mayor juez e señor
que a él deue judgar, *del qual* terrná temor.

The other instances are : 973 d, 1310 c, 1476 b¹, 557^x b.

b) A thing.

594 b (The ideal judge is described) :

En la vna balança la justícia terrná
con *la qual* el condepne aquel que mal fará.

585^x c and 585^x d :

Amigos, Jop dezia, los años breues pasan,
e por sendero non çierto todos los omnes trauajan,
por *el qual* non tornan, e los tales acaban
su vida en este mundo, en *el qual* mucho lazdrauan.

The syntax and meaning of this stanza are clear, but the rimes are very faulty.

The other examples are : 936 c², 1545 d³, 343^x c, 563^x c⁴, 693^x d.

§ 48. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTECEDENT⁵.

That the antecedent determines the gender and number of the article *el* of *el cual* is too simple a phenomenon to call for comment. For examples, see § 47, § 49, § 50.

1. Quoted in § 46 (4), (a).

2. Quoted in § 23, C.

3. Quoted in § 49.

4. Quoted in § 46 (4), (b).

5. While all the grammars state as a general rule that when the antecedent is a first or second person, and the relative pronoun is the subject of its clause,

§ 9. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

All the *el cual* clauses in the *Rimado* are explanatory, with the possible exception of 1545d and 1547d.

1545 d :

La muy grant seguridat de aquesta vida presente
en grant viçio a los grandes males traen veynte ;
ca non es si non alcançar los bienes conplida mente
de *los quales* al fin, quien mas cobra es mas doliente.

It is possible to interpret lines *c* and *d* : « for (such security) amounts merely to acquiring easily those goods which, in the end, cause him who has the greatest amount of them the greatest sorrow. »

But it is more probable that the idea is : « for (such security) amounts merely to acquiring wealth easily, and in the end this causes him etc. » It seems more likely, therefore, that this clause is explanatory.

1547 d :

Non es dubda que la carne en el mundo muy folgada
es con asaz deleytes e el alma enpeñada
con ásperas e amargas ; mas despues llega ordenada
aquella justa sentençia *la qual* non es apellada.

We may be in doubt here whether the last clause is explanatory or not. The words *aquella justa sentençia*, so clearly point to the *sentençia de Dios* that it is possible to look upon the last clause as merely an additional statement concerning this judgment ; i. e. « then comes... that (well-known) just sentence, and from this there is no appeal ». On the other hand, we may also interpret « that just sentence from which there is no

the verb in the relative clause agrees with the antecedent, yet none of them gives an example of this construction, with *el cual*. Hence the example given by Gessner (p. 470) is of especial interest : Soilo para vosotros *los cuales* vistes las señales de mi apostalada.

appeal », as a statement in which the last clause is intended to make clear which sentence is referred to, and thus take the clause as restrictive. The former interpretation seems to me the more probable one.

Here belongs the discussion of statements (2) and (3) of the preliminary remarks ¹.

a. Statement (2) declares that *el cual* is used « en frases especificativas después de preposiciones disílabas, de *por*, *sin* tras y después de complementos ». Inasmuch as there are no restrictive *el cual* clauses in the *Rimado* (with possibly two exceptions, which are, however, not probable ²) this statement receives no test.

b. Statement (3) declares that *el cual* is used « en frases explicativas, cuando éstas son largas y caen al fin del período ». For the *Rimado* the facts are as follow.

With the exception of two lines (291^x c ³, 338^x d ³), *el cual* always occurs either at the beginning or end of a hemistich, or immediately following the preposition at the beginning of the hemistich. Moreover, the *el cual*-clause always comes at the end of a sentence, excepting in 603 a ⁴, 936 c ⁵, and 684^x b. Measuring the length of the *el cual* clause by hemistichs, and adopting two hemistichs as the arbitrary limit of a short clause, and counting all the other clauses as long, we find that only the following 8 clauses are long :

3 hemistichs — 1355 b, 343^x c, 563^x c ⁶, 692^x c.

4 hemistichs — 999 c, 1476 b ⁷.

5 hemistichs 653 b, 1554 b.

1. Cf. § 46, introductory remarks.

2. Cf. first part of this §.

3. Quoted in § 47, B, a.

4. Quoted in § 45, C.

5. — in § 23, C.

6. — in § 46, (4) (b).

7. — in § 46, (4), (a).

Thus it will be seen that the great majority of *el cual* clauses at the end of a sentence (26 out of 34) may reasonably be called short.

§ 50. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *El cual is the subject of its clause.*

The complete list of examples is : 653 b, 999 c, 1348 c, 1355 b, 1510 d¹, 1547 d², 1554 b, 275^x c, 498^x d, 684^x b (10).

B. *El cual is an accusative.*

The complete list of examples is : 673 d³, 870 d³, 291^x c⁴, 338^x d⁴, 558^x d, 692^x c (6).

C. *El cual is the object of a preposition.*

It is the object of :

á — 846 c⁵, 847 d, 973 d.

con — 594 b⁶, **936 c**⁷, 563^x c⁸, 693^x d.

de — 1272 d⁹, 1476 b¹⁰, 1545 d¹¹, 343^x c, 557^x b.

en — 585^x d¹².

por — 1310 c, 585^x c¹².

-
1. Quoted in § 47, A, a.
 2. — in § 47, A, b.
 3. — in § 47, B, b.
 4. — in § 47, B, a.
 5. — in § 47, C, a.
 6. — in 47, C, b.
 7. — in § 23, C.
 8. — in § 46 (4), (b).
 9. — in § 47, C, a.
 10. — in § 46, (4), (a)
 11. — in § 49.
 12. — in § 47, C, b.

Cuervo's rule concerning *el cual*, after prepositions, has already been quoted ¹. The rule finds no application in the *Rimado*; for, (1) there is no restrictive *el cual* clause following a preposition, with one possible exception (1545 d ²), and (2) dissyllabic prepositions do not occur before *el cual*; but, then, they do not occur before any other relative pronoun.

Notes to *El cual*.

1. Example to be eliminated: 1293 c ³.
2. The following instances are doubtful: 603 a ⁴, 1575 a.
3. Obscure cases: 1530 d, 1550 d.

LO CUAL

§ 51. *Lo cual*, being neuter, can not refer back to any noun, but always refers back to an idea contained in a clause, or sentence. Diez states: « Für die Beziehung auf einen ganzen Satz braucht man die Neutra..... Der Spanier setzt das ihm eigene Neutrum *lo qual*, zuweilen auch *lo que* ⁵ ». Meyer-Lübke says that *lo cual* is used in preference to *lo que*, and that *que* with clausal antecedent is scarcely used ⁶. Bello states that *lo que* and *lo cual* alternate frequently, that in classic Spanish authors *lo cual* is more common than *lo que*, and that *que* is also used frequently in the same sense ⁷. Dönne and Gräfenberg do not touch this point.

In the *Rimado*, the conditions are as follows: *Que* with clau-

-
1. Cf. § 46, introductory remarks (3).
 2. Cf. § 49.
 3. Discussed in § 30, B.
 4. Cf. § 45, C.
 5. *Rom. Gram.*, III³, p. 371.
 6. *G. L. R.*, III, p. 696.
 7. *B.-C.*, p. 288.

sal antecedent occurs 21 times ¹, *lo cual* 16 times, and *lo que* 3 times ².

§ 52. The antecedent, always being clausal, determines the use of the neuter *lo*. This phenomenon does not call for further comment. As for the clause in which *lo cual* occurs, it is always explanatory. For examples, see § 53.

§ 53. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Lo cual is the subject of its clause.*

Four examples.

282^x d :

ponemos a Job dubda, *lo qual* non puede ser.

The other instances are : 1227d, 1288c ³, 1531d.

B. *Lo cual is accusative.*

Two examples.

1303b (*ellos* refers to two of Noah's sons) :

Por que era su padre e ellos cubrir quisieron
padre ellos

sus cosas vergonçosas, en *lo qual* muy bien fizieron
vergonçosas, *lo qual*

For line *a*, the E-reading is the better. In line *b* we may read :

sus cosas vergonçosas, en *lo qual* bien fizieron

or

sus cosas vergonçosas, *lo qual* muy bien fizieron.

and it is difficult to decide here which is the better reading.

1. Cf. § 11, A, c — § 11, C, c, 1 — § 11, C, c, 2.

2. Cf. § 35.

3. Quoted in § 35.

The other example is : 1357 c.

C. Lo cual is the object of a preposition.

With *de* — One example.

524^x d.

With *en* — Four examples.

1000 b, 1251 d, 1303 b¹, 430^x a,

With *por* — Six examples.

1001 b :

Leemos que verguenças de tal padre encubrieron
Sem [e] Jafed sus fijos, por lo qual merescieron
auer graçia de Dios.....

The other examples are : 564 c, 840 b, 1344 d, 440^x d,
642^x b.

Note to *Lo cual*. The following passages are obscure : 276^x d, 279^x d.

QUIEN

§ 54. Quien is used as both adjective and substantive relative.

ADJECTIVE QUIEN

§ 55. THE NATURE OF THE ANTECEDENT.

In Modern Spanish, adjective *quien* refers only to persons, or personified objects ; in old Spanish it might refer also to things². In the *Rimado*, it always refers to a person, or personified object, excepting once where a thing is referred to.

391^x b (*del tal* refers to the humble and simple man) :

1. Quoted in B of this §.

2. Cf. Wiggers, p. 92. — B.-C., p. 90. — Gessner, p. 452.

Por ende la synpleza del tal, menospreziada,
es commo la linterna a *quien* fue comparada,
que non rreluze fuera, nin da lunbre nada ;
pero cerca el Señor Diós non está desechada.

I append a few examples of *quien* with person, or personified object, for antecedent.

14 b :

Cobdiçia la mi alma a ti, Señor, servir,
commo mi criador a *quien* ella ha de yr.

648d¹.

747 b (The poet is addressing the Virgin) :

Sienpre oue deuoiçion en la tu noble figura
a *quien* fago oraçion, quando yo siento tristura.

Gessner quotes this example under *quien* referring to things², but it is better to put it in the class here adopted, for *figura* is clearly a personified object. The distinction between Gessner's classification and the one made here is of some importance when we remember Bello's words : « *Quien*, sin embargo, no se limita hoy tan estrictamente á personas, que no se refiera algunas veces á cosas, cuando en éstas hay cierto color de personificación, por ligero que sea »³.

836 b (The Virgin is addressed) :

Tu eres la puerta çerrada
de *quien* dixo Ezechiel
que non seria otorgada
sinon a Dios e al fijo dél.

There are 27 of these instances.

a. We have seen above, how, under certain conditions, substantive *el que*, with a preposition governing the *que*, is replaced

1. Quoted in § 11, C, a.

2. Gessner, p. 452.

3. B-C, p. 90.

teenth century. The form, *quien*, however, with plural antecedent, occurs sporadically even today ¹.

In the *Rimado*, *quien*, is, of course, invariable.

There are 5 examples with plural antecedent.

44 b:

Dy mucho mal consejo e otorgué mi fauor
por estoruar a muchos de *quien* auia rrencor.

1561 b (David's sin):

Tomole a Bersabe, su ligitima mujer,
teniendo otras muchas con *quien* pudiera vençer
pecado de adulterio.

The other examples are: 430 d, 667 b, 1601 c ².

§ 57. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSÈ.

A. *When quien is the subject of its clause.*

Bello states that adjective *quien* can not be the subject of a restrictive clause ³. As there is no example, in the *Rimado* of adjective *quien* used as subject (except a doubtful one ⁴, this statement receives no test.

B. *When quien is an accusative.*

There is but one instance and the clause is explanatory.

541^x d:

ca Dios, a *quien* el syrue, le acorre con piadat.

1. Cf. B.-C., Notas, p. 54.

2. Quoted in § 55, a.

3. B.-C., p. 91.

4. Cf. § 58, A.

C. *When quien is the object of a preposition.*

In 13 out of 26 cases the clause is explanatory.

724 b :

Señora, tu me val, Virgen, santa Maria,
a *quien* sienpre me acomiendo de noche e de dia

806 g :

e Dios, en *quien* es la nuestra esperança

The other instances of explanatory clause are : 14 b, 401 c, 720 f, 735 b, 747 b¹, 774 c, 847 c², 855 b, 1379 a³, 391^x b⁴, 461^x d⁵.

§ 58. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

A. *Quien is the subject of its clause.*

The only instance that occurs in the *Rimado* is a doubtful one.

342 b :

La justiçia, que es virtud atan noble e loada
La justiçia es virtud
que castiga los malos e la tierra tiene poblada,
quien castiga
deuen la guardar reyes.

The difference in reading, between the Mss., and the fact that this instance is unique for our poem, makes me inclined to reject this occurrence of *quien*, and to accept the N-reading for line *b*.

1. Quoted, in § 55.

2. — in § 58, C, *en*.

3. — in § 11, C, *a*.

4. — in § 55.

5. — in § 62, introduction.

B. Quien is an accusative.

One instance occurs : 541^xd¹.

C. Quien is the object of a preposition.

There are 26 examples, distributed among the various prepositions as follow :

á — 9 cases (accusative *á* *quien* not included) : 14 b, 401 c, 724 b², 747 b³, 826 g, 846 b⁴, 1601 c⁵, 391^xb⁶, 461^xd⁶.

con — 5 cases : 430 d, 720 f, 855 b, 1561 b⁷, 287^x b.

de — 6 cases :

838 b (The Virgin is addressed) :

Tu eres el huerto cerrado
de *quien* dixo Salomon, etc.

The other instances are : 44 b⁸, 492 a⁹, 648 d¹⁰, 667 b, 836 b¹¹.

en — 4 cases :

847 c :

Alli esta vn cauallero (cabello) de la virgen Maria
de su santa cabeça que qual quier lo ueria,
cabeça qual quier lo veria
en *quien* tomé e tengo deuoción grande mia
en él tengo e toue deuoción grande mia
al qual siruen dueñas de orden oy en dia.

1. Quoted in § 57, B.
2. — in § 57, C.
3. — in § 55.
4. — in § 47, C, a.
5. — in § 55, a.
6. — in § 55.
7. — in § 56.
8. — in § 56.
9. — in § 55, a.
10. — in § 11, C, a.
11. — in § 55.

The N-reading is the better for lines *b* and *c*. The other instances are : 774 *c*, 806 *g* ¹, 810 *h* ².

por — 2 cases : 735 *b*, 1379 *a* ³.

It is worthy of note, that if we include the accusative *á quien* of 541^x*d* ⁴ under the prepositional constructions, adjective *quien* is found in the *Rimado* only as the object of a preposition.

SUBSTANTIVE *QUIEN*

§ 59. As a substantive pronoun, *quien* is said to be equivalent to *el que* ⁵, which statement is a mere definition. But when we add that *quien* may be, and is, used instead of *el que* ⁶, we enter the field of syntax. The fact that *quien* and *el que* are grammatically interchangeable has already been pointed out ⁷. That *quien* is also interchangeable with *aquel que* is to be expected on account of the closeness of meaning between *el que* and *aquel que* ⁸ but inasmuch as there is no valid example of interchange, in the *Rimado* Mss., between *aquel que* and *quien* ⁹, this interchange will not be considered.

Returning then, to the equation, *quien* = *el que* (substantive *el que*, of course), we have seen all the cases in which the scribes of the *Rimado* Mss. wrote the one for the other ¹⁰. There are eleven of these passages, sufficient in number to show

1. Quoted in § 57, C.

2. — in § 55, a.

3. — in § 11, C, a.

4. — in § 57, B.

5. Cf. Wiggers, p. 96, 11a.

6. Cf. B.-C., p. 90. Also, § 17, b, of this monograph.

7. Cf. § 24.

8. Cf. § 17, b.

9. Cf. § 17, a.

10. Cf. § 17, b.

that at the time the *Rimado* Mss. were copied, the speech feeling allowed this interchange, just as it does today. But it was also noted, that in each case, the relative part of the pronoun, or pronoun group, was the subject of its clause¹. The only discussion of this matter, which I can find, is by Bello, who gives, though only indirectly, the cases, for Modern Spanish, in which *quien* and *aquel que* may be interchanged²; and on account of the close proximity of meaning between *aquel que* and *el que* we may safely infer that the same rules hold for the interchange of *quien* and *el que*. According to Bello, the relative part of the pronoun must be either subject or predicate. None of the eleven cases above mentioned involves a predicate relative pronoun, so that on this side of the question no positive evidence is forthcoming from the *Rimado* Mss.

§ 60. Concerning the antecedent and its influence, nothing more need be said than it is included in the word *quien*, and is always personal.

§ 61. THE NATURE OF THE CLAUSE.

a. The clause with reference to the antecedent.

From considerations which were pointed out elsewhere³, it follows that the clause is always restrictive.

b. The clause with reference to the rest of the sentence.

With *quien* we meet a condition which obtains for no other relative pronoun: the clause may have syntactically no relation whatever with the rest of the sentence; or, as Meyer-Lübke puts it: « il se produit une complète anacoluthie.... Comme le sens renfermé dans ces propositions relatives est souvent conditionnel, on dit simplement que *qui* équivaut à la locution *si*

1. Cf. § 17, b, final statement.

2. B.-C., p. 275.

3. § 8.

which does double duty is the same for both functions¹, while here, *quien* would be doing duty for two different forms, i. e. *quien* and *de quien*. On the other hand, the interpretation of the example quoted above as a mixture of an ordinary substantive *quien* clause and a *si quis* clause is open only to the slight objection, if indeed it be an objection, of occurring only once.

§ 62. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

The syntax of substantive *quien* is peculiarly complicated. Diez points out that the Italian *a chi* may be used either in the sense of *a colui che*, or *colui al quale*², i. e. that since *chi* contains within it both the antecedent and the relative, the preposition before *chi* may govern either the antecedent or the relative. The same is true of the Spanish *quien*, as will become apparent from the two following examples.

461^x c (*que* = *ca*) :

que por mandado lo dixo de *quien* non podria fallyr,
Dios todo poderoso, a *quien* todos an de yr.

Where *de quien* = *del que*, *de aquel que*.

Yo odio de *quien* no puedo vengarme³, where *de quien* = *aquel de quien*.

It, therefore, becomes necessary to study substantive *quien* with reference to the antecedent, as well as the relative. The conditions in the *Rimado* are, however, of a simple character. Wiggers states that the relative part of substantive *quien* must always

1. It may be argued that the *que* which is mentioned as a zeugmatic construction in § 14, B, a, does duty for *que* and *por los cuales*; but this objection is only an apparent one, since the relative adverb *que*, may express various relations, and to say that *que* stands for accusative *que* and for *por los cuales* is simply expressing in a succinct manner that *que* stands for accusative *que* and adverbial *que*.

2. *Rom. Gram.*, III³, p. 382.

3. Taken from *Rom. Gram.*, III³, p. 382.

990 d (Zophar rebukes Job for talking and not listening) :

pues ¿quién será *quien* fable, si tu logar non das?
que

1107 d (Job laments his lot) :

¿quién será *quien* me judge en este gran quebranto?
que juzgue

466^x d (Adam's loss of innocence is deplored) :

¿quién es *quien* non se espanta sy en esto comedió?

There is nothing inherently peculiar about the construction *quién es quien*, except the repetition of sound. This is not, however, a grave objection, as in Old French the expression, *qui est qui*, exists¹.

But the expression, *quién es quien*, has not been noted before, and it is, therefore, proper to examine it more closely.

The expression occurs in both Mss : three times in N, once (466^x d) in E; but at no time does it appear in both Mss., for the same passage. The variants are *quién fue el que* (469 d) and *quién será que* (990 d and 1107 d). Metrically the variants are as good as *quien*; and we must look to syntax alone to guide us in this discussion.

The interchangeableness of *el que* and *quien* has already been touched upon². It was found that where such interchange takes place, the relative part of the pronoun must be subject, or predicate³. If, then, it can be shown that *quién es el que* with *que* as subject, or predicate, of its clause, is good Spanish, the possibility of *quién es quien* becomes more plausible.

Quien es el que occurs 9 times in the Rimado; three times there is agreement in the two Mss., the other six examples occur in

1. Cf. Gessner, *Zur Lehre vom französischen Pronomen*, Theil, II, p. 17.

2. § 59.

3. § 59, last part.

stanzas which are not common to N and E. I give first the instances common to both Mss., then the others.

917 d :

sy tu bien conosçes *quién es el que* lo da
conosçieres

976 d :

¿ *quién* seria *el que* con este podria contender ?

1040 a :

¿ *Quién* es *el que* non sabe
que Dios todas las cosas faze de cada día ?

1137 a :

. ¿ *quien* es *el que* podrá
rresistir al diablo ?

1552 b, c :

Sy Dios otorga paz, ¿ *quién* es *el que* condenaria ?
e si el esconde su cara, ¿ *quién* es *el que* lo veria ?

The other instances are : 1146 a, 456^x a, 561^x d.

In each of the cases just referred to, the conditions are those which have been posited for the interchange of *el que* and *quien*¹. But we noted above², that *quien será que* also occurs, twice against one *quién fue el que* and against four *quién será quien*.
fué
es

Quién es que is a construction for which there seems to be no foundation, except a scribal error. For, while for *quién es quien* there is the parallel construction, *él es quien*, and the plausible possibility of replacing *quién es el que* by *quien es quien*, there is no parallel construction for *quién es que*³.

1. § 59.

2. In this §.

3. What may seem to be a case in point, but is not, occurs in 434 c : ¿ *quien* sodes diz otro, que entrastes y tan çedo ? The *que* is here not a relative pronoun, but a conjunction. The meaning is not « Who are you who came in

Nowhere can I find evidence for such a construction as **el es que lo hizo*, or **aquel es que lo hizo*, or **este caballero es que lo hizo*.

As far, then, as the syntactical side is concerned, *quién es quien* is not improbable, while, *quien es que* seems impossible. But the question may arise, whether *el que* could not be substituted for all the four cases, as it certainly can for one of them (469 d). As for 466^x d, we may be dealing with fourteen-syllable verse, in which case *el que* would be possible (but not necessary, since we may assume hiatus between *se* and *espanta*). The question narrows down to whether synaloepha is possible in *será el que* (990 d and 1107 d). I am not prepared to answer this question, although I am inclined to think that synaloepha between accented *a* and the demonstrative determinative *el*, which likewise bears the accent, is not probable. But even if it should be hereafter proved that such synaloepha is possible, yet the three fold occurrence of *quién es quien* in one Ms. alone, and the lack of evidence against the syntactical probabilities of such a construction, make it at least worth while to put this construction on record until new light, in regard to it, may be forthcoming.

c. The antecedent is an accusative.

1. If the *quien* clause comes first, the antecedent is repeated in the principal clause by a personal pronoun and in no case is the preposition *a* used before *quien*.

40 a :

Otrosi *quien* enfama de mal a su cristiano,
matador lo dirán e non es nonbre vano.

79 b :

Quien cuyda estar en paz, dexan lo con querella

here so quickly ? » but « Who are you, that you came in here so quickly ? » (Cf German : Wer sind Sie denn *dass* Sie so ohne Weiteres hereinkommen ?) The speaker is not trying to establish the identity of the person addressed, but is expressing his indignation at the fact that the person was allowed to come in so quickly. The Modern Spanish for « who are you who, etc. », would be :

The other examples are : 41 a¹, 408 a, 578 c, 689* d.

2. If the *quien* clause follows the verb on which the antecedent depends, the antecedent is not expressed, except in so far as it may be considered contained in *quien*. In two instances (148 b, 1564 d), the preposition *a* is not used before *quien*. In all the other instances the preposition is used.

148 b (At the day of judgment it will be too late to exercise charity) :

Non fallaré allá ningunt encarçelado,
nin *quien* pida del pan, desnudo nin lazado

278 a :

Amar a *quien* te ama non es de agradecer.

The other examples are : 182 c², 184 b; 443 d³, 538 c¹, 573 d, 935 b, 1564 d⁴, 687* c.

d. The antecedent is a dative.

1. Sometimes the preposition *a* is expressed before *quien*.

77 b :

a *quien* tiene oro e plata çinco obispados val
a *quien* tiene e plata vn obispado le dan

Read :

a *quien* tiene oro e plata vn obispado le val.

The other examples are : 515 b¹, 555 c, 805 b, 1269 a¹.

2. Sometimes no preposition is expressed before *quien*, but in this case, the antecedent is always repeated by means of a personal pronoun in the dative case.

¿Quién sois vos que entrasteis? etc., i. e. the relative *que* would have a sup-
porting *vos* corresponding to *el* in *quién es el que*.

1. Quoted in B, below.

2. Quoted in § 17, b.

3. Quoted in § 16, B, a, 2, where the E-reading is condemned.

4. Quoted in § 39, D.

5. Quoted in § 17, b.

242 d :

e a tal estado son llegados ya los fechos,
que *quien* tenia trigo, non le fallan afrechos.

The other instances are : 1124 c, 300^x a, 638^x c.

e. The antecedent is the object of a preposition.

1. The preposition is *á*. One case. The preposition is not expressed before *quien*, but before the personal pronoun which repeats the antecedent.

688^x c (*lo* in line c refers to *Dios*) :

quien leal mente lo sierue segunt veemos pasar,
non es dubda que a él se llegue por que lo pueda fallar.

2. The preposition is *de*. Three cases.

727 b :

Dios te salue, preçiosa rreyna de gran valia,
esfuerço e conorte de *quien* en ti se fya

The other examples are : 730 d, 461^x c¹.

f. The antecedent has no syntactical relation with the rest of the sentence.

This happens in the so-called *si quis*-clauses.

One example will suffice.

142 c :

por ende, mis señores, *quien* me quisier oyr,
madruga de mañana quien grant jornada a dir
madrugue

where it is clear that the unexpressed antecedent has no syntactical relation with the rest of the sentence. All the instances of *quien* contained in *si quis* clauses belong here, since in all of the *si quis*-clauses the relative part of *quien* is always the subject of the relative clause. The remaining examples are : 87 a, 219 d, 230 a, 240 c, 561^k d, 539^x a, all of which will be found quoted in § 61, b.

1. Quoted in § 62, introductory remarks.

Note to A. — In one example, the relative part of *quien* is the subject of a verb, but the verb is contained in a clause which is really dependent on the verb of the relative clause.

1291 d :

quien cuydamos que va mal despues nos paresçe santo.

Evidently *cuydamos* is felt as the principal verb of the relative clause, and yet the relative part of *quien* is the subject of *va*, which is in a clause depending on *cuydamos*. This construction is peculiar, and one which I have not seen¹ presented elsewhere for Spanish.

B. *The relative part of quien is an accusative.*

There are three examples, in all of which the antecedent is likewise accusative.

41 a :

Otrosi quien non acorre a *quien* puede ayudar,
matador le diremos.....

The other instances are : 532 d, 451^x c.

C. *The relative part of quien is the object of a preposition.*

One example, and in it the antecedent and the relative are the object of the same preposition.

140 d (If I shared my wealth, I should suffer less in time of adversity) :

ca Dios me ayudara por *quien* lo yo partiera,

i. e. for God would help me for the sake of the one for whose sake I had shared it.

Notes to substantive *quien*.

1. Case to be eliminated : 594 b. Already discussed¹.
2. Obscure cases : 279 b, 561^x d.

1. § 17, a.

CUANTO

as relative adjective pronoun.

§ 63. Cuervo¹ and Gessner² quote examples in which *cuanto* is used as a relative pronoun with antecedent other than *todo*. But in the *Rimado*, the relative pronoun *cuanto* is always neuter, and *todo* is the only antecedent. To avoid possible misunderstanding I add, that I am not speaking of the relative adjective *cuanto*, but solely of the pronominal use of the word.

§ 64. The antecedent, always being *todo*, is always neuter. The clause is always restrictive. For examples, see § 65.

§ 65. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

Cuanto is always accusative. Six instances.

443 b :

de todo *quanto* perdi non puedo auer emienda.

723 d :

nin podria dezir nada de lo que vi
podré de todo *quanto* vy

Both readings are metrically good, but the E-reading is the more probable, because the three verbs that occur in the three previous lines and correspond to *podré* are future.

462* b :

ca todo fuera verdat *quanto* el profeta canta

The other examples are : 501 d, 1257 d, 646* b.

SUBSTANTIVE CUANTO

§ 66. As in the case of the relative adjective pronoun *cuanto*, so

1. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 651¹.

2. Gessner, p. 458.

in the case of substantive *cuanto* the antecedent is always neuter, i. e. the plural *cuantos*, in the sense of *todos los que*, does not occur in the *Rimado*. As for the nature of the clause, what has been said about the substantive *quien* clauses¹ applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to substantive *cuanto* clauses. They are all restrictive.

§ 67. THE SYNTAX OF THE RELATIVE.

Cuervo remarks: Lo mismo que en *cual* el significado de cualidad, oscurecese en *cuanto* el de cantidad, conservándose solo el valor relativo; aunque esto no se observa con tanta extensión como en el primero, y casi se limita á ciertas expresiones que no pueden explicarse si no traemos á la memoria el valor originario² ». The expressions referred to are: *en cuanto*, *en cuanto á*, *cuanto á*, *por cuanto*.

In view of the crystallized character of these expressions, it will be best to treat them separately. Moreover, in view of the difference between *cuanto* and the other relative pronouns, I shall depart from the order observed in the pronouns hitherto treated.

a. *Cuanto* is strictly pronominal.

In this use, as far as the *Rimado* is concerned, the relative part is always accusative.

1. The antecedent part is a subject. One instance.

369* d:

por ende Salamon dezia segunt fallamos
todo esto es vanidat (e) *quanto* nos tratamos.

2. The antecedent part is accusative. Ten examples.

257 c:

e bien se pare mientes que *quanto* leuará
de auer asy ganado poco lo logrará.

1. § 8, 2.

2. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 651¹.

642^x d (The miser is referred to) :

..... tiene deseado
quanto adelante fally (falle) e nunca es fartado.

The other examples are: 374 c, 454 d, 473 a, 664 d, 1119 d¹, 1132 a, 1160 d, 645^xd².

In 1119 d and 645^x d, we have *quanto que*, where the *que* is pleonastic³.

One example deserves separate mention.

1426 b:

E con sudor de tu carne el tu pan conbrás
con sudor de la tu cara el tu pan comerás
e *quanto* en esta vida mesquina durarás
en *quanto*

Read :

Con sudor de tu cara el tu pan comerás
quanto en esta vida mesquina durarás

Here, *quanto* denotes duration of time⁴, and the antecedent, as well as the relative parts, are cognate accusatives.

3. The antecedent part is the object of a preposition. Two examples.

I 294C:

...que la su voluntad sea a nos satisfacion
bondat
de quanto el ordenare, syn auer appellaçion
apelacion

1295a:

En todo lo que el ordena e en todo lo quel fará
e de *quanto* el fará
non demos otro respuesta saluo lo que a él plazerá.

For line a read :

En todo lo que el ordena e en *quanto* el fará

1. Quoted in § 14, D, c, 1.

2. Quoted in § 14, D, c, 1.

3. Cf. § 14, D, c, 1.

4. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 652¹.

b. Abverbial expressions in which *cuanto* is the object of a preposition.

1. *En cuanto*.

This expression has various meanings¹, but in the *Rimado* it is used only in the sense of *as long as, while*. Fifteen instances.

145a :

En *quanto* sano biues e Dios nos da logar,
somos bivos

.....
pongamos grant acucia . . .

460b :

Sienpre tengo de ser vuestro en *quanto* ouier veuir.

The other instances are : 285c, 757d, 1034c, 1161c, 1419b, 1462a, 1501a, 1519c, 329^xa, 340^xc, 357^xb, 445^xa, 566^xa.

2. *Por cuanto*.

« Se usa como causal y encarece la razón que se da, algo más que *porque* ². » Ten cases.

359d :

si el rrey ora lo supiese, por cierto serie pagado,
seria

por *quanto* yo lo tomara e lo tengo rrecabado.

780a :

Señora, por *quanto* supe tus acorros, en ti espero
e a tu casa en Guadalupe prometo de ser rromero.

This example is repeated in 781e, 782e, 783e. The other instances are : 786c, 1047a, 1395a, 1464a, 1609b.

Note to §§ 63-67. The following passages in which *cuanto* occurs are so obscure, or corrupt, that I have not yet been able to determine the function of *cuanto* in them : 298d, 323c, 788d, 368^xd, 698^xc.

1. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 650²; also, p. 651¹ and 652¹,

2. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 653.

ADO, ADONDE, DO DONDE, ONDE

§ 68. These adverbs concern us only in so far as they have a noun, or a clause, for an antecedent, i.e. in so far as they do the work of relative pronouns.

Two of these adverbs can be dismissed in a few words.

*ADONDE*¹

It occurs with pronominal use only once and in only one Ms., i.e. E.

783*d* :

e me lieua aquel altura do es el plazer entero.
lleua aquella altura *adonde* es plazer entero.

While *adonde* is not the correct reading, it is worth noting that it is used to denote place *in which* and not to *which*. This usage is no longer admissible²,

ONDE

Occurs only once in the whole poem³ and in only one MS., i.e. E.

123*c* :

.....algunos omnes que non pueden partir
del lecho donde yazen
onde

It will be noticed that *onde* like *adonde* is used to denote place *in which*.

This leaves us to consider

1. *Adonde* occurs four times, altogether, in the two MSS: a as relative adverb in 233*d*; as an interrogative adverb in 818*a* and 468*xc*; as a pronoun in the passage given above. All these instances are in E.

2. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, I, p. 210¹.

3. Cf. Gräfenberg, p. 531: « Das Relativadverb *onde* ist nur einmal zu belegen. »

ADO, DO, DONDE

Since we are dealing here with what are primarily adverbs, the principles of classification that were applied to the relative pronouns do not apply. I shall, therefore, abandon the arrangement observed in the case of the pronouns proper and shall follow, in the main, that which Cuervo uses ¹.

The adverbial pronouns *ado*, *do*, *donde*, occur without preposition in the following proportions: *ado* 11 times, *donde* 19 times, *do* 49 times. With preposition (which is always *por* in the *Rimado*): *do* 3 times, *donde* once.

I. The adverbial pronoun is used to indicate that from the antecedent something proceeds, or that an event, or fact, depends on the antecedent ².

Ado is not used in this sense. It will be noticed that although *do* occurs 49 times and *donde* 19 times in the *Rimado*, yet, with the meaning just mentioned, *do* occurs only 5 times and *donde* 9 times. These are the conditions which one would expect from the etymology of the two words. *Donde* still clearly betrays its origin: *unde*, meaning *whence*, strengthened by *de*. *Do*, on the other hand, though likewise originally meaning *whence* (*de ubi*), has not been strengthened to keep up its original signification, which appears sporadically, but has sunk back to the meaning *where*.. In Modern Spanish, *donde* is no longer used with the force of *whence* ³.

A. *The antecedent is personal.*

Three instances, all of them with *do*.

1. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, s. v. *Donde*.

2. C. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, s. v. *Donde*.

3. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, s. v. *Donde*.

372d¹ :

asi commo rrazonamos por vn omne descuydado
 que dezimos que es manso e mucho asegado
do muy

Whatever may be the correct reading, it is evident that to some scribe *do* had here the meaning of *of whom*, i. e. French *dont* = Modern Spanish *de quien*..

1180c :

..... la vejedat onrrada
 non es de muchos años, mas aquella es loada
do el seso es maduro e la obra atentada.

Here, again, *do* is used in the sense of French *dont*, but with the possessive meaning of Spanish *cuyo*².

386*d (A good man may be forgotten in this world, but —) :

..... mas el tal en oluido
 non está del buen collegio (*sic*), *do* todo bien es avido.

Here, the local meaning becomes apparent : « whence all blessings are derived ».

B. *The antecedent is a substantive not denoting a person.*

a. The antecedent denotes a place.

Two cases, both with *donde*, in the sense of Modern Spanish *de donde*.

849b :

Tu, Señora, sienpre quesiste defender
 casa *donde* vengo e en onrra mantener
 la casa *donde*

1088d :

a esta tierra escura *donde* asy partia.

b. The antecedent does not express the idea of locality. The relative adverb has the meaning of *on account of which*, *because of which*.

1. Cf. § 17, D, b, 2.

2. Cf. *Cuyo*, introductory remarks (§ 70).

Two examples, and the word used is *do*.

335^{*b}:

El malo es soterrado e está en perdiçion
con cuydados terrenales *do* pena su coraçon ;
de esperança çelestial non toma delitaçion,
ca ya está enduresçido ; nunca cuyda aver perdon.

Do = *por los cuales*. The possibility of interpreting *do* in the sense of *por lo cual* is excluded by the statement, in the last line, that the sinner is hardened ; so it is not probable that his heart would be grieved on account of his being lost, but the idea of the first two lines is rather, that the sinner is lost because of earthly cares over which his heart grieves.

165a :

Gustar es vn sentido *do* puede, mal pecado,
pecar asaz el onbre sino es auisado
sy non

C. *The antecedent is a clause.*

The adverb has the meaning *for which reason, on which account*, Spanish *de lo cual, por lo cual*. One case with *do*, six with *donde*.
Do.

747g (The church is compared to a ship) :

los cabres fuertes,
— son los perlados que han poco cuydado
de aqueste fecho que está, mal pecado,
tan luengo, tan malo, esquiuo, tan fuerte,
tan luengo e tan malo, esquiuo e muy fuerte
tan luengo, tan malo, esquiuo, tan fuerte
do muchos cristianos perigran de muerte.

Donde.

445^{*d}:

partiendo nos de carrera por los senderos andamos
torçidos, *donde* a otros muy mas escandalizamos.

454^d :

por esto dezia Daid que lo oviera engendrado
en pecado su madre; *donde* era en triste fado.

The other cases are : 115c, 617c, 1364c, 454^d.

II. The adverb is used in describing an activity which neither springs from the antecedent, nor is directed toward it.

A. *The antecedent is personal.*

The adverb has the meaning *in whom*.

Two instances, one with *do* and one with *donde*.

Do.

950c :

tu torna te a Dios, *do* es todo el comienço,
ado es todo çimiento.

Read :

tu torna te a Dios, *do* es todo çimiento.

Donde.

1000 (First *él* refers to Noah. Subject of *encarnó* is *Dios*) :

.....ca en él escapó
el humanal linaje, *donde* él se encarnó.

B. *The antecedent is a substantive not denoting a person.*

a. The idea conveyed by the adverb is that of location. This is the commonest function of *ado*, *do*, and *donde*, and it is not necessary to emphasize so well-known a fact.

Ado. Seven examples.

986a :

Sacaste me del vientre, Señor, *ado* yazia

The other examples are : 354d, 568b, 772b, 988d, 1201d, 425^c.

Do.

540d¹ :

non puede el diablo ser nunca morador
en casa que ay paz, concordia e buen amor.
do

756b :

Dexaron me oluidado en vna prision escura
de cuydado e tristura me fallaron muy penado
do

The N-reading is clearly wrong, and the E-reading correct.
There are 40 instances coming under this head.

Donde — Eight instances.

1405d (The sinner is represented as being in the mouth of the demon, who is about to swallow him) :

mas sy se arrepintiere y fallará logar
forado en la mi silla *donde* puede escapar.
la mexilla

The other instances are : 123c², 125d, 175c, 344b, 988d, 439^b, 467^b.

b. The idea conveyed by the adverb is one of time, with the meaning *when, during which*. There are 6 instances, all with *do*.

146b :

aquel dia espantable *do* no ha escusaçion
non
de yr al otro mundo.....

641b :

por pasar esta vida *do* beuimos penados
que

The other examples are : 123d, 1136d, 1585c, 602^c.

III. The activity expressed in the relative clause is directed toward the antecedent.

1. Cf. § 14, C, a.

2. Quoted in introductory remarks of this §.

Ado. — One instance.

1381d (*él* refers to Paul) :

.....pero él sienpre.....
 dubdando se estaua de non auer alcançado
 con aver alcançado
 aquella alta graçia do fuera llamado
 ado

Ado is clearly the better reading. It is written as one word in E. It is difficult to decide whether or not *ado* was felt as *a do* (as two words), or as one word, having the meanings *where* and *whither*, just as *donde* is felt in the older as well as the Modern language as one word with two meanings¹. The fact that *ado* is used frequently in the sense of *where* (as adverbial pronoun 7 times in the *Rimado*²) makes it probable that it was felt as one word, having the two meanings *where* and *whither*. It is significant, however, that *ado* is not used in the sense of *whence*; nor does Cuervo mention such a meaning for *adonde*³. Evidently the preposition *á* was always felt with some of its original force.

Do — Three instances. The antecedent is a substantive not denoting a person.

352^b (*Esta* refers to *ley de caridat*) :

Esta enseñó a Josep con homildat padesçer
 aquella dura presyon do le fueron poner

The other examples are : 152b, 444^d.

IV. The adverbial pronoun is used with *por*, and the combination of the two words means *by which*, *along which*.

With *do*. Three instances. The antecedent is a substantive not denoting a person.

1. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, II, p. 1322¹, bottom : « En el sentido de dirección es más común *adonde*; no obstante, *donde* ocurre non frecuencia en autores antiguos y modernos ».

2. Cf. II, B, a, of this §.

3. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, s. v.

647c (Subject of *alcançaua* is *escala*):

e luego otra cosa en sy consyderó
sy alcançaua al muro por *do* sobir cuydó

651c :

Primera mente cata si es firme madera
.....esta tal escalera
por *do* pueda sobir; ca, etc.

The other example is : 1516d.

With *donde*. On instance. The antecedent is a clause.

430^c :

ca tienen que le pluguieron en los fechos pasados
asy commo los buenos, por *donde* son penados.

We have *por donde* here used in the same sense in which we have found *donde* frequently used ¹, and it is probable that *por* was put in for metrical reasons.

Note to *Do* and *Donde*.

The following two passages with *do*, *donde*, seem to belong to belong to the above chapter, but are to be eliminated.

157 c.

Otrosí, Señor, en el oyr pequé;
ca muchos cosas vanas oyr las cobdiçié
dende tomé quexa e mucho trabajé
donde
de fazer algunt yerro a toda mala fe.

Read c :

e dende tomé quexa, etc.

902 c :

Primera mente Job fabló con gran gemido,
diz : maldicho fue el día quel omne es conçevido,
tornado sea en tiniebras *do* non sea rrequerido
 tiniebras non sea rrequerido
del señor de los altos nin sea esclareçido.

Read c :

tornado en tiniebras, non sea rrequerido.

1. Cf. I, C, of this §.

CUANDO

§ 69. *Cuando* is used twice in the *Rimado* with pronominal force.

1198d :

.....ca non fue asi ordenado
de Dios luego al comienço *quando* lo cuo formado.

The other example is :

CUYO

§ 70. This word is used only three times in the *Rimado*. Araujo states that *cuyo* does not occur in the *Poema del Cid* and that it is replaced by *don*¹. No examples are given to confirm the latter part of this statement. Cuervo in his dictionary gives no example of *cuyo* from this monument. Cuervo, moreover, does not mention the use of *donde*, or *do*, in the sense of *cuyo*, from which it may safely be concluded that this use of *donde* had died out by the beginning of the sixteenth century. One might infer that this use of *donde* may explain the absence of *cuyo* in the *Poema del Cid* and its rare occurrence in the *Rimado*. But, as far as the latter is concerned, the explanation will not hold, for *donde*, or rather its equivalent *do* occurs only once with the force of *cuyo* : 1180c².

Another possible substitute of *cuyo* is the relativ adverb *que*. Gräfenberg states that, in the *Libro del Cauellero et del Escudero* on Don Juan Manuel, *que* is so used, and I infer from his statement : « Statt *cuyo*, das Relativum and Possessivum zugleich ist, steht einfach *que*; das possessive Verhältniß wird noch besonders durch ein besitzanzeigendes Fürwort ausgedrückt³, » that *cuyo* does not

1. *Gramatica de Poema del Cid*, p. 151.

2. Quoted in § 68, A.

3. Gräfenberg, p. 531.

occur. Dönne mentions, for all the writings of Don Juan Manuel, both *que* and *de que* as a substitute for *cuyo* and adds: « Seltener ist *cuyo* », and he gives two examples taken from *El Libro de los Estados* ¹.

As far as the *Rimado* is concerned, *que* is used for *cuyo* in 178a ², 964c, 1342b, while *de que* in this sense does not occur.

Another substitute for *cuyo* is *de quien*, when the antecedent is a person ³. *De quien* (*quien* being and adjective pronouns) occurs 6 times in the *Rimado* ⁴, but never with the force of *cuyo*.

A last substitute of *cuyo* is *del cual* ⁵, and in one instance *del cual* is so used in the *Rimado* : 1476b ⁷.

The rare occurrence of *cuyo* in the *Rimado* is, then, partially due to the substitution of some other word, or formula, on the part of the author, but chiefly to the fact that the poet had no occasion to express the idea of *cuyo* oftener.

Follow the examples.

652b:

Si es en pequeña hedat el príncipe o el señor
cuya priuança buscas e tomas su amor,
 será muy grant peligro, ca.....

715f (Prayer to the Lord) :

e loaré el tu nonbre sienpre toda sazón
 e loaré tu nonbre sienpre e toda sazón
 en *cuya* ley adoro despues que yo nasci

The antecedent of *cuya* is contained in *tu* of the previous line, *tu nonbre*, or *el tu nonbre*, being equivalent to *el nonbre de ti*.

1. Dönne, p. 14.

2. Quoted in § 17, D, B, 1.

3. Quoted in § 28, D.

4. Cf. B.-C., p. 277.

5. Cf. § 58, C, *de*.

6. Cf. B.-C, p. 276

7. Quoted in § 46, (1), (a).

718d:

ca tu solo, Dios, eres salud de pecadores,
cuyo acorro espero e al non entendi.

It will be noticed that in these examples the antecedent is always personal, and that the relative clause is restrictive in 652b, and explanatory in the other two instances. As for the syntax of *cuyo*, the fact that it is a relative adjective and agrees, not with the antecedent, but with the noun it modifies, is too well known to call for further comment.

Albert F. KUERSTEINER.

LIFE

I, Albert F. Kuersteiner, was born in New Orleans, November ninth, 1865. In 1888, I was graduated from the University of Cincinnati with the degree of A. B. From September 1888 to June 1890, I was Instructor in German and French at Wabash College, and from September 1890 to June 1894, I taught Latin and Mathematics in the Hughes High School of Cincinnati. In October 1894, I entered the Johns Hopkins University as a student in Romance Philology. The following May, I went to Europe, and there I remained twenty-seven months, studying part of the time in France and part of the time in Spain. On my return, I re-entered the Johns Hopkins University in the capacity of student-assistant in the Department of Romance Languages. The following year, I was elected Professor of Romance Languages in Indiana University. During the past year, I have been away from Indiana University on leave of absence and have spent my time at the Johns Hopkins, in graduate work and the preparation of this dissertation.

To my teachers at this University I extend my sincere thanks for their kindly guidance, and express my gratitude for the inspiration I have received from them. It is fitting that I mention in this connection the names of Professor F. De Haan, who first inculcated in me a love for things Spanish; of Professor L. E. Menger, whose high character and remarkable scientific attainments won the respect of those who knew him; of Professor E. C. Armstrong, who has proved himself a friend as well as an inspiring teacher; of Professor C. C. Marden, to whom I owe thanks for his conscientious and painstaking comments on this dissertation, and whose admirable scholarship has been a great stimulus to me. But I am especially indebted to Professor A. M. Elliott for his many kindnesses and his sympathetic encouragement, and I take particular pleasure in paying my tribute of respect to the man who has done more than any other to raise the standard of Romance scholarship in this country.

ERRATUM

The list of abbreviations given on the fifth page of this study below the line « Table of stanzas... » should have been placed at the bottom of the first page, as note number 1.

Other Errata

- p. 10, line 7—FOR *vhen* READ *when*
 p. 15, line 22—FOR *que* frequency READ *the frequency*
 p. 16, last line—FOR syllabe READ syllable
 p. 26, line 16—FOR *a*. Sentences READ *c*. Sentences
 p. 32, line 11—FOR *qué* READ *que*
 p. 34, line 7—FOR *el qne* READ *el que*
 p. 34, line 17—FOR *hat* READ *that*
 p. 34, line 19—FOR Meyer-Lubke READ Meyer-Lübke
 p. 39, in 984 *c*—TAKE OUT THE PERIOD
 p. 43, line 10—FOR verb). READ verb.
 p. 43, line 20—FOR *much* READ *mucho*
 p. 44, line 19—AFTER pronoun REPLACE COMMA BY PERIOD
 p. 46, line 3—FOR *in* clearly and READ *is* clearly an
 p. 50, line 7—FOR *shoulp* READ *should*
 p. 54, line 11—FOR *Formel*, *derjenige* READ *Formel*, *‘derjenige*
 p. 55, line 14—FOR *pue* READ *que*
 p. 55, after line 15—INSERT LINES 12-24 OF P. 57
 p. 57, line 15—FOR *los que* READ *las que*
 p. 57, lines 12-24—INSERT AFTER LINE 15 OF P. 55
 p. 59, line 13—FOR *estandonon* READ *estando non*
 p. 66, line 8—FOR object *o* READ object of
 p. 67, line 18—FOR antecedent in READ antecedent is
 p. 70, line 10—FOR singular of READ singular or
 p. 70, line 12—FOR antecedent in READ antecedent is
 p. 71, line 26—FOR *instanc* READ *instance*
 p. 72, line 2—FOR 1474 *a*³ READ 1474 *a*¹, AND INSERT AS FOOT-
 NOTE I Cf. §17, *c*
 p. 74—THE WHOLE OF §38 SHOULD BE IN LARGE TYPE
 p. 75, line 18—FOR *la que* READ *lo que*
 p. 76, line 1—FOR indirectquestion READ indirect question
 p. 76, line 8—FOR *meresçamos* READ *merescamos*
 p. 76, line 21—FOR “*más temprano que lo que* is permissible”
 READ “*menos temprano que lo que*” is per-
 missible
 p. 84, line 6—FOR *cual si* READ *cual* is
 p. 84, line 7—FOR *attheend* READ *at the end*
 p. 85, line 6 —PLACE *el cual* OF THIS LINE AT THE BEGINNING
 OF THE FOLLOWING LINE, BEFORE *defendimiento*
 p. 96, line 17—FOR *one*, READ *one*),
 p. 104, line 12—FOR *las* READ *last*
 p. 112, line 7—FOR remarks: *Lo* READ remarks: “*Lo*
 p. 120, line 20—FOR *convoyed* READ *conveyed*
 p. 123, line 6 —FOR *cuo* READ *quo*
 p. 123, line 21—FOR *relativ* READ *relative*
 p. 124, line 5—FOR *que* READ *que*
 p. 124, line 8 FOR *and* READ *an*; FOR pronouns READ pronoun
 p. 124, footnote 2—FOR Quoted in §17, *D*, *B*, 1 READ Cf. §14,
 D, *b*, 1.

MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS
